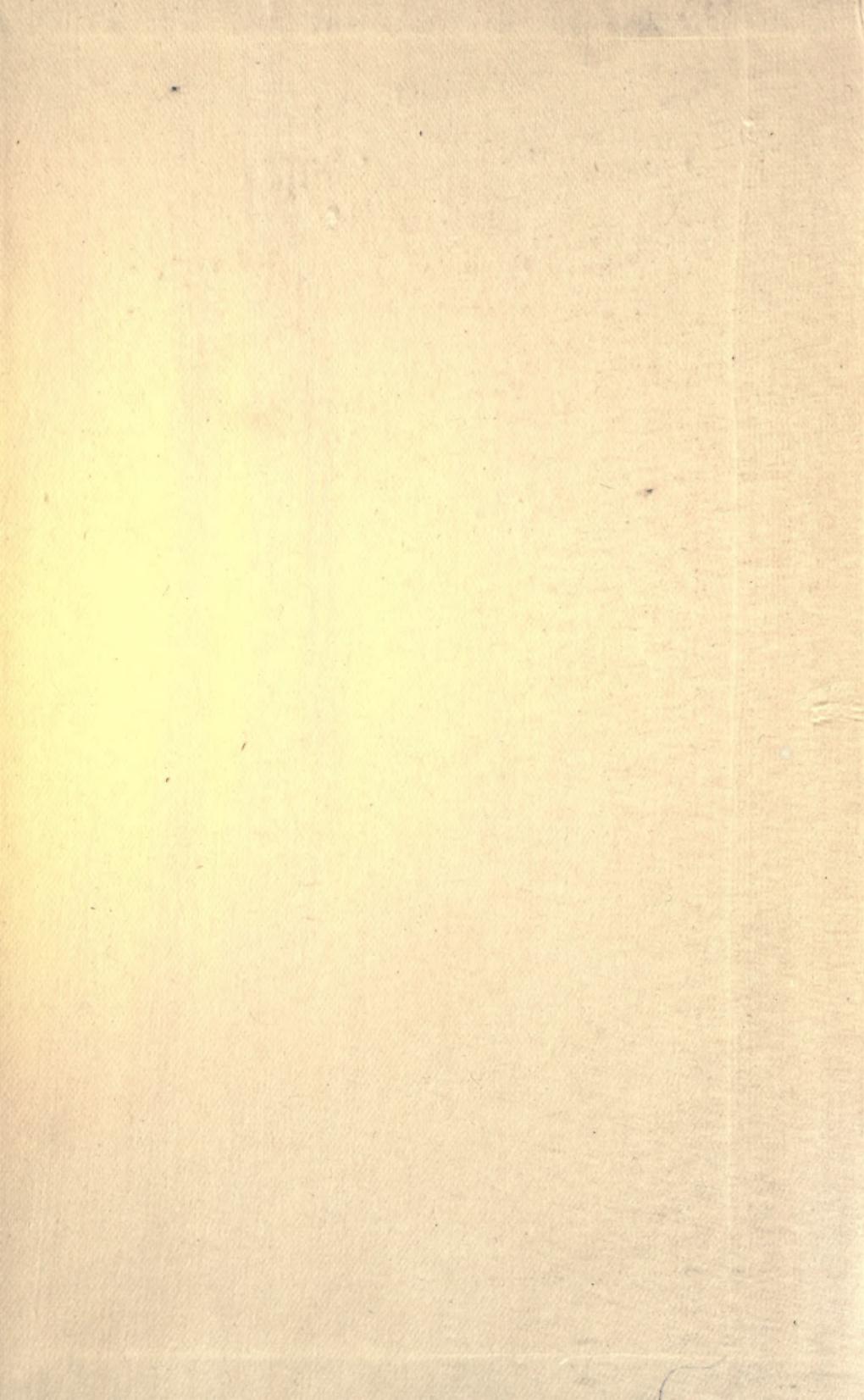




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# STUDIES IN ENGLISH DRAMA

FIRST SERIES

BY

JOHN LINTON CARVER, ALLISON GAW, CHARLES  
CLAYTON GUMM, ROSS JEWELL, MARTHA  
GAUSE McCaulley, and CLARENCE  
STRATTON

EDITED BY  
ALLISON GAW

WITH AN INTRODUCTORY NOTE BY  
FELIX E. SCHELLING



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UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA  
D. APPLETON AND COMPANY, AGENTS, NEW YORK

1917

*Serials* *one*  
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**BALTIMORE, MD.**

## INTRODUCTORY NOTE

The six essays which constitute this volume have been selected because they are kindred in subject and lend themselves—possibly more readily than some others—to a plan which necessitates condensation and a certain deviation from the purpose for which the majority of them were originally designed. Miss McCaulley's excellent paper on *The Functions of the Non-Organic Portions of English Drama*, alone of the following theses, is printed as it was presented to the Department. Each of the others was originally designed to serve as the matter introductory to a critical edition of the drama discussed; and contained, as at first submitted, considerable material which had to be suppressed or altered in adaptation to the sketchier purpose of a discussion of the literary and historical questions involved. Nor is it to be forgotten that in each of these cases, it was the preparation of an old text for the press, the noting of variants, sometimes of several editions, the study and elucidation not only of textual difficulties, but those of language, allusion, parallel and the like, that formed by far the most arduous portion of the task. For this reason it is not indulgence that is asked for the products of this volume, but a recognition that, as these essays now stand, they represent only a partial fulfilment of an original task, one that was satisfactorily completed in each case, except as to publication. In a word, these theses set forth only those results that can be successfully displayed in the absence of the reprinting of a difficult and, in some cases, an all but inaccessible text.

Once more, it is to be remarked that these theses were originally prepared at periods varying from two years ago to as many as seven and nine. In such a lapse of time much water

has flowed under the bridges of scholarship, but in no instance have the conclusions reached in the subjects here discussed been materially affected. It may be noted that Dr. Gaw's discussion of Spanish influences antedates the treatment of this topic in *The Cambridge History of English Literature* by some four or five years. The industry of research has added certain items to the bibliography of other theses. It has been determined, on mature consideration, that this work is best represented as an honest rescript of a thing actually done rather than by perfecting it to misrepresent it. Lastly, the order of the essays in this volume has been determined by the nature of their subject matter.

F. E. S.

### NOTE

The essays in this volume were originally introductions to critical editions of plays which had been accepted in partial fulfilment of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the Graduate School of the University of Pennsylvania.

## PREFACE

Similar as the following articles are in their purpose, subject matter, conditions of writing, and point of view, they yet differ somewhat widely in date of composition, in minor details of method, and in the relations of the sections here reprinted to the entire theses that they represent. Desiring to harmonize them with due justice both to subject matter and to author, the editor has attempted to bear in mind the facts not only that it is desirable to present them in a form as adequate as may be, but also that it is necessary to have due regard for their respective values as academic tests of scholarship. The occasional clashing of these two duties has compelled him to walk somewhat circumspectly. The editorial changes in the following pages, therefore, though considerable in number, yet concern themselves with matters of very minor importance. A sentence has been condensed here and there; and occasionally a phrase has been slightly clarified or a trifling inelegance has been elided in cases where the original writers, after this lapse of time, would doubtless themselves have made similar corrections. In one case an entire sentence has been dropped where the writer's modesty caused him to be unduly hesitant concerning the value of his work. In another case the separation of the article from the text it was originally intended to accompany has necessitated the insertion of a résumé of a scene in the text for comparison with a passage in its original source. Of course, in all cases where the wording has been modified, the sense has been most scrupulously preserved; but once or twice an editorial emendation as to a minor fact has been inserted in a bracketed footnote. Brief titles of dramas have generally been normalized to their modern spellings. Title pages, quotations, and the like have, as a rule, been reprinted

in the forms quoted by the authors of the individual theses, and have been textually verified only where the form was essential to the matter in hand.

For the chapter headings the editor must, in general, bear the responsibility. The length of the sections in the first and last articles in the volume made such headings advisable, and for the sake of uniformity similar captions were introduced into the others in the series. The running analyses that accompany the chapter headings in the two longer articles, however, would obviously have been superfluous in the remaining cases.

The bibliography has given rise to a question of some perplexity. No two of the bibliographies accompanying the articles agreed in system of classification, and in two cases the writers had depended, in lieu of formal lists, upon the references at the foot of the page. On account of the lapse of time since the lists were originally prepared, and the natural disappearance, in some instances, of the fuller manuscript notes upon which the final lists were based, a more specific reclassification was in several cases a matter of some difficulty. In general, therefore, the various bibliographies are reprinted in their respective original orders; and in the cases of the omitted lists, the material has been supplied from the footnotes, which have been correspondingly abbreviated. The point is of the less importance because in the instances in which introductions only are here printed, the bibliographies do not by any means include all of the books that have proved fruitful in preparing the theses as wholes; and in no case do they represent the care that has gone into the examination of books that have yielded no results. In several cases, in the hope of increasing their usefulness, the original bibliographies have been slightly amplified by the addition of later references, such additions being enclosed in brackets. Especial thanks are due to Mr. A. B. Schmitt, instructor in English at the University of Pennsylvania, who gave valuable assistance in the task of verifying the entries *verbatim et literatim*, including a number of items

that were inaccessible to the editor, and who also aided in making certain other necessary textual comparisons.

In arranging the various manuscripts for the press, the editor has repeatedly had a sense of keen regret that it was necessary to omit the separate prefaces to the various theses, with their warm words of appreciation for courtesies and encouragement extended to the respective writers. While these acknowledgments reach out in many directions, it is needless to say that the names most frequently mentioned in this connection are those of the members of the English faculty of the University of Pennsylvania, and chief among them Dr. Felix E. Schelling and Dr. Clarence G. Child. For his fellow-contributors to this volume and for himself, the editor must express the greatness of the debt that we all owe to the skilful guidance and cordial sympathy of both these gentlemen; and one among our group must especially acknowledge his personal indebtedness to Dr. Schelling in particular, whose friendship has been a constant stimulus and whose penetrating scholarship has remained an ever-present professional ideal for him through a period of over fifteen years.

A. G.

*University of Southern California,  
December, 1916*



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TUKE'S ADVENTURES OF FIVE HOURS IN RELATION  
TO THE "SPANISH PLOT" AND TO JOHN  
DRYDEN

ALLISON GAW

I

The re-opening of the London theatres at the end of the period of their suppression by the Puritans and shortly before the Restoration of the Stuart line to the throne of England in 1660, opens what is in many respects a new epoch in the evolution of English drama,—an epoch the leading tendencies of which are indeed traceable in some of the productions of the first half of the seventeenth century, but which is nevertheless marked by the complete crystallization of certain new types of plays, by a general interest in the possibilities of the neo-classic ideals of dramatic composition, and by the introduction of several almost revolutionary features in methods of presentation. In the nine years between Davenant's first cautious experiment with the "opera," *The Siege of Rhodes*, in 1656 and the closing of the theatres on account of the plague in 1665, Restoration drama passed through a period of transition and to a great extent found itself. In this period public attention was focused successively upon three Restoration plays that introduced three more or less distinct types of drama, namely, Davenant's *The Siege of Rhodes* of 1656 and 1661, Tuke's *The Adventures of Five Hours* of 1663, and Etherege's *The Comical Revenge* of 1664; while during 1665-66 was written Dryden's *Essay of Dramatic Poesy*. The first named introduced the Restoration "opera" and is the prototype of the "heroic play," the third in its gay realistic comedy anticipated Congreve; and the fourth discussed at length the chief problems in the dramatic criticism of the day and is moreover the

first piece of extended formal dramatic criticism by an English professional critic and playwright. But the significance of the second, Tuke's *Adventures of Five Hours*, has been obscured by the inadequacy of the records of the years 1660-65 and by the fact that the play has been generally accessible only in the revised version of 1671. It is the purpose of this study to indicate that significance, to point out the interest that attaches to the play as moulder and index of the tastes of the Restoration public, and to trace the reciprocal relations existing between it and the early criticism of John Dryden.<sup>1</sup>

## II. EARLY HISTORY OF THE "ADVENTURES OF FIVE HOURS"

Theatrical Conditions between 1660 and 1663.—Early Performances of *The Adventures*, 1663.—Its Popularity.—The Folio Edition of 1663.—The Attitude of Dryden.—Light on *The Wild Gallant*.—The Quarto of 1664.—Other Contemporary Criticism.

When the overthrow of the Puritan supremacy in 1660 made possible a revival of the drama, the repertoire of the new theatrical companies naturally consisted in the main of the most successful plays of the Elizabethan period. These included, foremost to early Restoration tastes, the dramas of Beaumont and Fletcher; second, those of Jonson and Shakespeare, the latter often in adapted form; third, those of Shirley; and in addition, such individual plays as Middleton and Rowley's *The Changeling*, Massinger's *The Bondsman*, and Webster's *The Duchess of Malfi*. As during the eighteen-year theatrical interregnum no new school of dramatic writers had had op-

<sup>1</sup> In the following study all act and line references to passages in *The Adventures of Five Hours* necessarily are indicated by the numbering in the critical edition basing upon the folio of 1663 (F), and collated with the quartos of 1664 (Q1) and 1671 (Q2), to which the material here printed was originally intended to serve as introduction. Thus, citations marked Q2 are to the Q2 reading of the line of the given number in F; and citations containing the word *after* are to a Q2 insertion following the cited line in F. Unfortunately, copies of the 1663 and 1664 editions are quite rare, and the play is known almost solely in the revised and historically less significant form of the 1671 quarto. For this the most convenient reference is the fifteenth volume of Hazlitt's Dodsley (1874), in which, however, the lines are unnumbered and which in other respects leaves much to be desired.

portunity to develop, when we examine the scanty records for theatrical productions of plays by contemporary writers between General Monk's first formal license to open a theatre, issued soon after February 3, 1660, and the first production of *The Adventures* on January 8, 1662-3, we naturally find the list a very short one. In 1661 Sir William Davenant, the manager of The Duke of York's Company, staged an elaboration of his "opera," *The Siege of Rhodes*, of 1656;<sup>2</sup> a new second part of the same;<sup>3</sup> and revivals of two of his pre-Restoration pieces, *The Wits*<sup>4</sup> and *Love and Honour*.<sup>5</sup> Thomas Killigrew, the manager of The King's Company, revived his pre-Restoration tragicomedy, *Claracilla*, in July, 1661;<sup>6</sup> but whether any other of the ten dramas published by him in 1664 were produced in the period mentioned is extremely doubtful. On October 26, 1661, Pepys found the Duke of Newcastle's comedy, *The Country Captain*, too "silly" for even his tolerant theatrical taste.<sup>7</sup> Toward the end of the same year Cowley's *Cutter of Coleman Street*<sup>8</sup> aroused considerable animosity by satirizing the scum of the adherents to the now victorious royalist party. In October, 1662, the acting of Stanford in the part of Maligni made *The Villain*, by Thomas Porter, the talk of the town.<sup>9</sup> None of the plays of Sir Robert Stapylton nor of the French translations of Sir William Lower, so far as is known, were performed in the period specified; but Pepys on December 1, 1662, witnessed a Court performance of Corneille's *Cid*, "A most dull thing acted, . . . . nor did the King or Queen once smile all the whole play, nor did any of the company seem to take any pleasure but what was in the greatness and gallantry

<sup>2</sup> Downes, *Roscius Anglicanus*, (ed. 1886), 21.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, 21.

<sup>4</sup> Pepys, *Diary*, August 15, 1661.

<sup>5</sup> Genest, *Some Account of the English Stage from . . . . 1660 to 1830*, I, 41.

<sup>6</sup> Genest, *op. cit.*, I, 36.

<sup>7</sup> *Diary*, (ed. 1897), II, 126. As references to this *Diary* are easily identified by date, page citations are not usually hereafter given.

<sup>8</sup> Genest, *op. cit.*, I, 40.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 42-43; but cf. the opinions of Pepys in *Diary* (ed. 1897), II, 368, 425; III, 2.

of the company." Of these plays by contemporary English writers, only the two parts of *The Siege of Rhodes*, and possibly also *Love and Honour*, need be mentioned as really significant dramas from the historical point of view.

Such was the state of dramatic literary production when *The Adventures of Five Hours* was first presented to the public. Its author, Samuel Tuke (?—1674),<sup>10</sup> had been a Royalist colonel during the Civil War, and through the Protectorate had lived abroad. Between 1649 and 1660 we catch glimpses of him as sightseer, roisterer, duelist, and wit, at Paris, in Holland, and with the royal exiles (where he was "a great oracle in this little Court," writes Sir Edward Nicholas) in Flanders. In the latter place, then a part of the Spanish Netherlands, he probably obtained his knowledge of the Spanish tongue. At the Restoration, after having written a "character" of "the King,"<sup>11</sup>

<sup>10</sup> The earliest dated mention of him is that of his admission to Gray's Inn, August 14, 1635. The date of his death, midnight of January 25–26, 1673–4, is fixed by the combined evidence of Mrs. Evelyn's letter reprinted in Evelyn's *Diary* (ed. 1906), IV, 59; Evelyn's *Diary* under March 15, 1672–3, when Tuke was still living; and Anthony à Wood, *Athenae Oxonienses* (ed. 1721), II, 288; though Mrs. Evelyn's letter is apparently assigned a date a year too early by the editor.

What is known of him is conveniently summarized in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, LVII, 300, citing authorities. Among the latter see especially the *Diary* of his cousin by marriage, John Evelyn. This is high authority for the bare fact recorded as occurring on a given day under Evelyn's personal observation, but the entries were undoubtedly amplified from memory by the diarist long afterward, and all such amplifications must be carefully tested. Thus he inserts the words "(later Sir Samuel)", in an entry under October 1, 1649, thirteen years before Tuke was knighted; under date of October 17, 1671, he speaks of Sir Samuel in a tone implying that he had been dead for several years although the writer had been present with Tuke at the baptism of Tuke's infant son less than two months previous and speaks of him as still alive under a date of seventeen months later; under date of December 23, 1662, he speaks of *The Adventures of Five Hours* as being the work of "Sir Geo. Tuke," although he well knew the name of the author to whom he wrote the strong commendatory verses to be cited later, and although Tuke's brother George was apparently never knighted; and so forth.

In the following pages all biographical statements for which no authority is cited may be easily traced through the *Dictionary of National Biography* or through Evelyn.

<sup>11</sup> Probably the "Character of Charles the Second written by an impartial hand, and exposed to public view for the information of the people," quarto, London, 1660 [British Museum Catalogue under *Samuel Tuke*].

he had been entrusted by Charles II in October, 1660, with confidential communications to the Queen Mother, Henrietta Maria, at Paris; and in March, 1660-1661, with a formal message of condolence to the French Court upon the death of Cardinal Mazarin. After having been reputed an atheist, he had been converted to Roman Catholicism before January, 1658-1659, and in 1660 and again in 1661 he had addressed the House of Lords in behalf of his co-religionists. For the newly organized Royal Society he is said to have written a "History of the Generation and Ordering of Green Oysters, Commonly called Colchester-Oysters," printed in Sprat's *History of the Royal Society*,<sup>12</sup> and *The Adventures of Five Hours* shows distinct traces of his polite, if not profound, interest in the new movement toward scientific research.<sup>13</sup> It may be added that he was a cousin of Mary, wife of John Evelyn the diarist, and that although perhaps unduly self-appreciative,<sup>14</sup> he was nevertheless a man of sterling worth, and in the midst of a profligate Court made, both by word and action, a determined protest against immorality.<sup>15</sup>

though possibly "The Faithful yet Imperfect Character of a Glorious King, King Charles I, His Country's and Religion's Martyr," 12 mo., London, 1660 [E. M. Thompson in the *Hatton Correspondence*, I, 20, note].

<sup>12</sup> Pp. 307-309 of the 1702 edition, where it appears without ascription of authorship. I know not on what ground Dodsley's *Old Plays*, in its various editions, and the *Dictionary of National Biography* ascribe this to Tuke. It is true that Colchester is not far from the seat of the Tuke family at Frayling, Essex.

<sup>13</sup> See *Adventures*, Folio III, 239-40; V, 65-67; Quarto 2 after I, 395-6; Q2, IV, 132-5. Cf. Sprat's *History*, ed. 1702, pp. 173-9, 255, 312-13; 248-9, 254, 311-12; 225. Cf. also Evelyn, *Diary*, February 24, 1663-4.

<sup>14</sup> Cf. Pepys, *Diary*, February 15, 1668-9; the comments on his "vanity" and "formal smile" in *The Sessions of the Poets*, to be quoted later; and the general tone of his prologues, epilogues, and 1671 preface.

<sup>15</sup> In addition to the preface, prologues, epilogues and general tone of *The Adventures*, see also Evelyn, *Diary*, September 27, 1666; October 17, 1671; and Mrs. Evelyn's letters, quoted in *Diary* (ed. 1906), IV, 59-60. See also his characteristic allusions to various moral codes, quite in keeping with his political and religious conservatism: "Laws of Decency" (*Adventures*, F, I, 238); "Rules of Conduct" (II, 244); "Rules of Decency" (III, 508-9); "Definitions in Morality" (III, 519); "Rules of Temperance" (V, 213); "Laws of Hospitality" (V, 218); and "Laws of Honor" (II, 357; V, 243, 405, 520); not to speak of the "Five Hours' Law" (F, Prologue, 6) and the "Law of Comedy" (V, 755).

The composition of *The Adventures of Five Hours* may probably be assigned to the year 1662. From the *Prologue at Court* it would seem that Tuke felt that his favor at Court was declining and thought, as he tells us, to "retire from sight." Apparently as a final dignified bid for advancement, he undertook the translation of the Spanish play, *Los Empeños de Seis Horas*, the idea springing from his overhearing a chance remark of the king's in admiration of that drama,<sup>16</sup> a remark which, after the success of his experiment, was represented by Tuke as a definite request of the king's that he should make the translation.<sup>17</sup> It is impossible not to suspect that one speech of Antonio's (not found in the Spanish) was very pointedly intended for the royal ear.

*Octavio.* I joy to see you here, but should have thought  
It likelier to have heard of you at Court,  
Pursuing there the Recompences due  
To your transcendent Merit.

*Antonio.* That is no place for men of my Moralitie.  
I have been taught, Octavio, to Deserve,  
But not to Seek Reward; that does prophane  
The Dignity of Virtue; if Princes  
For their own Interests will not advance  
Deserving Subjects, they must raise Themselves  
By a brave Contempt of Fortune.

During the time that Tuke was at work upon the play, as we learn from the *Dedication*, he "held his fortune" from his newly made friend, Henry Howard of Norfolk, at whose villa at Aldbury in Surrey the translation was actually written, and with whom he long remained on intimate terms.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>16</sup> *Prologue at Court*, lines 6-8.

<sup>17</sup> *Prologue at Court*, side note; also *Preface* to edition of 1671.

<sup>18</sup> We may here briefly dispose of the claim of Lord Digby, Earl of Bristol, to a share in the authorship of *The Adventures*. It rests solely upon the statement of Downes (*Roscius Anglicanus*, ed. 1886, p. 22) that the play was "Wrote by the Earl of Bristol, and Sir Samuel Tuke." Downes was writing from memory only (for certainly no bill of the play ever bore such a statement) and after a lapse of over forty years (*i.e.*, later than October, 1706). His liability to inaccuracy is an established fact (*cf.* Genest, I, 27, and Knight's introduction to the 1886 edition of the *Roscius Anglicanus*,

Despite the statement of the *Prologue* to the public performance that the first production of the play occurred on December 15, [1662],<sup>19</sup> John Evelyn notes on December 23 that it was still in rehearsal. The actual date of first performance is settled for us by the evidence both of Evelyn and of Pepys. The latter gives the following vivacious account of his afternoon and evening on January 8, 1662-3:<sup>20</sup> "Dined at home: and there being the famous new play acted the first time today, which is called 'The Adventures of Five Hours,' at the Duke's House [i.e., The Duke of York's Theatre], being they say, made or translated by Colonel Tuke, I did long to see it; and so made my wife to get her ready, though we were forced to send for a

p. xxii); and since he knew that Digby had written two other plays of the same type, *'Tis Better than it was* and *Worse and Worse*, confusion in this case would be especially easy. A searching investigation of all the facts in the case has produced not another shred of evidence in favor of Digby's collaboration with Tuke. On the other hand, the evidence against it is overwhelming. The dedication to the first edition of *The Adventures* states distinctly that the play was "bred" and "brought up" upon "the terrace walks" of "the garden at Aldbury" belonging to Tuke's patron and dedicatee, Henry Howard of Norfolk. His 1671 title page and preface claim for Tuke all the credit for the play in both the original and the revised form. The political difficulties that obliged Digby to leave London, and later England, from August 10, 1663, to July 29, 1667 (Pepys, *Diary*, III, 245-6; IV, 75, 79, 123; VII, 46, 196, 199) offer no reason for any concealment of Digby's collaboration, for the earliest hints of the parliamentary trouble that led to Digby's downfall do not occur until July 1, 1663, (*ibid.*, III, 189), and on May 15th he was certainly still in favor with the King (*ibid.*, III, 123), by which time Tuke's first edition must have gone to press. When the 1671 edition of *The Adventures* appeared, Digby had for four years been restored to favor (and high favor; cf. Pepys, VII, 196, 199), and moreover he had probably permitted the publication of *Elvira*, thus acknowledging his dramatic pretensions. Again, in the little gossiping court of Charles II the participation of Digby in the very successful play could scarcely have been kept a secret, yet none either of Tuke's critics or of his defenders (including his cousin, John Evelyn, who had attended one of the rehearsals) mentions any other name than Tuke's in connection with the play. Furthermore, Sir William Davenant deliberately chose the play for a performance especially in honor of the Earl of Clarendon, who had long been Digby's bitterest foe. An exhaustive comparison of the styles of *The Adventures* and of Digby's *Elvira* also fails to support Digby's claim. Without doubt, in ascribing *The Adventures* in part to Digby Downes was wrong.

<sup>19</sup> Probably the date of the proposed first performance, later postponed, and never corrected in the *Prologue* manuscript.

<sup>20</sup> *Diary* (ed. 1897), III, 8.

smith, to break open her trunk, her mayde Jane being gone forth with the keys, and so we went; and though early, were forced to sit almost out of sight, at the end of one of the lower forms, so full was the house. And the play, in one word, is the best for the variety and the most excellent continuance of the plot to the very end, that ever I saw, or think ever shall, and all possible, not only to be done in the time, but in most other respects very admittable, and without one word of ribaldry; and the house, by its frequent plaudits, did show their sufficient approbation."

The cast of the first performance, according to Downes<sup>21</sup> the prompter, was in part as follows:

Don Henrique.....	Mr. Betterton
Antonio.....	Mr. Harris
Octavio.....	Mr. Young
Diego.....	Mr. Underhill
Ernesto.....	Mr. Sandford
The Corrigidor.....	Mr. Smith
Silvio.....	Mr. Price
Camilla.....	Mrs. Davenport
Portia.....	Mrs. Betterton
Flora.....	Mrs. Long

Downes, writing nearly forty years later, adds that it was "Cloath'd so Excellently Fine in proper Habits, and Acted so justly well;" and in his prologue Tuke tells us that "the Scenes are New," by "scenes" probably meaning here, as in some other passages in the play, the stage-settings. Evidently the production was, for the day, elaborate.

The prologue, important in several connections, must be quoted in full:

<sup>21</sup> *Roscius Anglicanus* (ed. 1886), 22-23.

*The Prologue enters with a Play-bill in his hand, and Reads,*  
 This Day being the 15th of December, shall be Acted a New Play, never  
 Plai'd before, call'd The Adventures of Five Hours.

### A NEW PLAY.

TH' are i' the right, for I dare boldly say,  
 The English Stage ne'r had so New a Play;  
 The Dress, the Author, and the Scenes are New.  
 This ye have seen before ye'l say; 'tis true;  
 But tell me, Gentlemen, who ever saw  
 A deep Intrigue confin'd to Five Hours Law.  
 Such as for close Contrivance yields to none:  
 A Modest Man may praise what's not his own.  
 'Tis true, the Dress is his, which he submits  
 To those who are, and those who would be Wits;  
 Ne'r spare him Gentlemen, for to speak truth,  
 He has a per'lous cens'rer been in's Youth;  
 And now grown Bald with Age, Doating on Praise,  
 He thinks to get a Periwig of Bays.  
 Teach him what 'tis, in this Discerning Age  
 To bring his heavy Genius on the Stage;  
 Where you have seen such Nimble Wits appear,  
 That pass'd so soon, one scarce could say th' were here.  
 Yet after our Discoveries of late  
 Of their Designs, who would Subvert the State;  
 You'l wonder much, if it should prove his Lot,  
 To take all England with a Spanish Plot;  
 But if through his ill Conduct, or hard Fate,  
 This Forein Plot (like that of Eighty Eight)  
 Should suffer Shipwreck in your Narrow Seas,  
 You'll give your Modern Poet his Writ of Ease;  
 For by th' Example of the King of Spain,  
 He resolves ne'r to trouble you again.

The epilogue more pointedly called attention to the merits of the piece:

*Diego comes stealing in, and is follow'd by Henrique, who stays at the Door, and Listens.*

*Die[go]. Come Gentlemen!*

Let the Dons, and Monsieurs say what they will;  
 For our parts, we are for Old England still.  
 Here's a fine Play indeed, to lay the Scene  
 In three Houses of the same Town, O mean!

Why we have several Plays, where I defie  
 Th' Devil to tell where the Scene does lie;  
 Sometimes in Greece, and then they make a step  
 To Transilvania, thence at one Leap  
 To Greece again: this shows a ranging Brain,  
 Which scorns to be confin'd t' a Town in Spain.

*Then for the Plot;*

The possible *Adventures of Five Hours*;  
 A copious Design, why, in some of ours  
 Many of th' Adventures are impossible,  
 Or if to be atchiev'd, no Man can tell  
 Within what time; this shows a rare Invention,  
 When the Design's above your Comprehension:  
 Whil'st here y're treated with a Romance Tale,  
 And a Plot cover'd with a Spanish Veil.

*As for the Style;*

It is as easie as a Proclamation,  
 As if the Play were Pen'd for th' whole Nation.  
 None of those thundring Lines, which use to crack  
 Our Breaths, and set your Wits upon the Rack.  
 Who can admire this Piece, or think it good;  
 There's not one Line, but may be understood.

*The Raillerie:*

As innocent, as if't had past the Test  
 Of a full Synod: not one Baudy Jeast;  
 Nor any of those Words of Double Sense,  
 Which makes th' Ladies, to show their Innocence,  
 Look so demure; whil'st by a simp'ring Smile,  
 The Gallant shows he understands the Style.  
 But here you have a Piece so subtly Writ,  
 Men must have Wit themselves to find the Wit:  
 Faith that's too much; therefore by my consent,  
 We'l Damn the Play.

*Henr[ique].* Think'st thou, Impertinent,  
 That these, who know the Pangs of bringing forth

[*Pointing to the Pit.*]

A Living Scene, should e'r destroy this Birth.  
 You ne'r can want such Writers, who aspire  
 To please the Judges of that Upper Tire [Tier].

The Knowing are his Peers, and for the rest  
 Of the Illiterate Croud (though finely drest)  
 The Author hopes, he never gave them cause  
 To think, he'd waste his Time for their Applause.  
 You then (most equal Judges) freely give  
 Your Votes, whether this Play should Die, or Live.

Passing over, for the present, the stress laid upon the unity of time in this prologue and epilogue, it may be noted that the emphasis on the possibility of the story and on clearness of style are new ideals in the early Restoration period, the latter being especially interesting as coming from a member of the Royal Society within a few months after its incorporation,<sup>22</sup> that the aristocratic appeal to his "peers" and outspoken contempt for the opinion of the citizens result from a general class fear of loss of caste on the part of the gentleman-author, a fear that was largely to disappear during the course of the next decade;<sup>23</sup> and that the emphasis upon decency was an individual revolt against early Restoration excesses.

The popularity of the play was extraordinary. According to the old prompter, it "took Successively 13 Days together, no other play intervening."<sup>24</sup> In order to estimate the significance of this thirteen-day run we must remember that in that small circle of novelty-loving patrons of the two little theatres, *The Siege of Rhodes*, with all the *éclat* of the opening of a new theatre, brilliant with "new Scenes and Decorations, being the first that e're were Introduc'd in England," ran only twelve days; Porter's great success, *The Villain*, only ten days; and *The Cutter of Coleman Street* and *The Duchess of Malfi*, the latter "proving one of the Best of Stock Tragedies," a week and eight days respectively.<sup>25</sup> In fact, before the closing of the

<sup>22</sup> Cf. the well known passage in Sprat's *History of the Royal Society* in which he says that they "have exacted from all their members a close, naked, natural way of speaking; positive expressions; clear senses; a native easiness: bringing all things as near the mathematical plainness as they can."

<sup>23</sup> Cf., for instance, Tuke's own title pages of 1663 and 1671. See also the prologue to Dryden's *Rival Ladies* (1664) and the epilogue to *The Indian Emperor* (1664 or 1665).

<sup>24</sup> Downes, 22-23.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, 21, 23, 24.

theatres in June, 1665, because of the plague, the only longer runs, so far as is known, were an elaborate revival of *Henry VIII*, which exceeded Tuke's play by two days, and Etherege's *The Comical Revenge*, which gay and realistic comedy may have held the stage for approximately a month.<sup>26</sup> In addition to this thirteen-day run, *The Adventures* was accorded the honor of a production at Court in the presence of the king;<sup>27</sup> and as we know from a prologue for the occasion preserved among the works of Sir William Davenant,<sup>28</sup> it was also the play selected for production before the Lord Chancellor<sup>29</sup> at the annual performance before him in the Temple at some time before 1667, very probably during its earliest popularity. Furthermore, the later references to it by Dryden give us reason to believe that it was kept more or less before the public up to 1665.

Other evidence of the success of the play exists in abundance. John Evelyn notes in a diary entry evidently amplified long afterwards: "January 8th, 1662-3. I went to see my kinsman Sir Geo.<sup>30</sup> Tuke's comedy acted at ye Duke's Theatre, which took so universally, that it was acted for some weekes every day, and 'twas believ'd it would be worth to the comedians £400 or £500. The plot was incomparable but the language stiffe and formal."

Thus supported, the testimony of the commendatory verses of Christopher Wase and "MElpomene" (edition of 1664) as to

<sup>26</sup> Downes says that the piece brought the company £1000 in the course of a month.

<sup>27</sup> The statement that the first performance of *The Adventures* was at court (Dodsley, *Old Plays*, ed. 1780; Scott, *Ancient British Drama*, III, 409; Hume, *Spanish Influence on English Literature*, 292) is incorrect. The line in the *Epilogue at Court*, "We have pass'd the Lords, and Commons," must apply to Tuke's differentiation between the aristocrats and the citizen class in the public theatre, as indicated in his public prologue.

<sup>28</sup> Ed. 1673, p. 339.

<sup>29</sup> I.e., Lord Clarendon, chancellor from 1660 to 1667, for whose interest in things Spanish and in literature see Campbell, *Lives of the Lord Chancellors of England*, IV, 44; Scott-Saintsbury ed. of Dryden, IX, 63; Maidment and Logan ed. of Davenant, III, 257. Sir Orlando Bridgman, chancellor between 1667 and Davenant's death in 1668, was a man of totally different tastes.

<sup>30</sup> See present volume, p. 4 n. 10.

the scenes in the theatre may be given considerable credit. Says the former:

Th' impartial multitude (to do them right)  
 Own all their passions, and profess delight;  
 Not yet concern'd in Faction, far from Guile  
 When mov'd to Joy, or Pity, Weep, or Smile;  
 Ten times the Play recall with generous heat,  
 Ten times attend, and fresh Applause repeat.

And "MElpomene" is almost equally emphatic with regard to its effect upon the judicious:

The silent Circle were in a suspense,  
 Not knowing where to wish the preference. . . . .  
 You from your Rivals discords do produce  
 Such a delightful concord, that all those  
 Who fear'd their Fate, are pleas'd that they were foes.  
 In whose serene, and settled Looks we find  
 Delight, and Wonder did possess their mind,  
 Whose strict attention speaks your praises higher  
 Than the loud Plaudits of the Upper Tire.

Samuel Pepys, in taste the accepted type of the Restoration theatre-goer, saw the play four times prior to 1670, read it twice, and was enthusiastic as to its merits. Follow his entries on the subject prior to 1667:

January 17, 1662-3. . . . after dinner to the Duke's playhouse, where we did see "The Five Hours" entertainment again, which indeed is a very fine play, though, through my being out of order, it did not seem so good as at first; but I could discern it was not any fault in the play.

May 31, 1663. . . . Home to dinner, and after dinner up and read part of the new play of "The Five Houre's Adventures," which though I have seen it twice, yet I never did admire or understand it enough, it being a play of the greatest plot that ever I expect to see, and of great vigor quite through the whole play, from beginning to the end. [And on the next morning:] Begun again to rise betimes by 4 o'clock, and made an end of "The Adventures of Five Hours," and it is a most excellent play.

August 15, 1666. . . . Home, my head akeing and drowsy, and to dinner and then lay down up on the couch, thinking to get a little rest,

but could not. So down the river, reading "The Adventures of Five Hours," which the more I read the more I admire.

August 20, 1666. . . . Up, and to Deptford by water, reading "Othello, Moore of Venice," which I ever heretofore esteemed a mighty good play, but having so lately read "The Adventures of Five Hours," it seems a mean thing.<sup>31</sup>

The copy of the play owned by Pepys was the small folio of 1663, the first edition. Of this the title-page reads as follows: "The / Adventures / of / Five Hours. / A/ Tragi-comedy. / *Non ego Ventosæ Plebis Suffragia venor.* / Horat. // Febr. 21° 1662. / Imprimatur / John Berkenhead. // London, / Printed for *Henry Herringman*, at the *An- / chor* in the Lower Walk of the *New Exchange*, 1663." A dedicatory letter addressed to Henry Howard of Norfolk, the Prologue, the Prologue at Court, the list of *Dramatis Personae*, and a notice of three *Errors of the Printer* are followed by seventy-two numbered pages, including the public and the court epilogues. Stage directions, aside from entrances and exits, are placed in the broad margin. On the whole careful in typography, this small folio is evidently the result of an attempt to produce a book worthy of the attention given to the play.

One of the most striking evidences of the impression made upon the town by *The Adventures* comes from a rival dramatist at the opposition theatre. On February 5, 1663,<sup>32</sup> less than two weeks after the opening run of our play had ended, appeared *The Wild Gallant*, the first (and unsuccessful) comedy of John Dryden. In both his prologue and epilogue this new aspirant for popular favor deliberately assumed an antagonistic attitude toward Tuke. The speaker of the prologue applies to

<sup>31</sup> This startling statement is *not* to be ascribed to "congenital inability of the most inveterate toughness to appreciate dramatic poetry" (see Mr. Sidney Lee, *Shakespeare and the Modern Stage*, 99), but is rather the result of an involuntary judging of *Othello* by the standards that Tuke emphasizes for *The Adventures*, namely, preservation of unity of time and place, and strange yet possible complexity of coincidence. Cf. Pepys' own comments on the first performance, as quoted on pp. 7-8. Pepys must be judged in the light of the historical significance of Tuke's play.

<sup>32</sup> See its prologue in Scott-Saintsbury ed. of Dryden, II, 20.

two astrologers to cast the horoscope of the new-born comedy. The ensuing conversation is partly as follows:

1. *Astr.* But, brother, Ptolemy the learned says,  
 'Tis the fifth house from which we judge of plays.  
 Venus, the lady of that house, I find  
 Is Peregrine; your play is ill-designed;  
 It should have been but one continued song,  
 Or, at the least, a dance of three hours long.

2. *Astr.* But yet the greatest mischief does remain,  
 The twelfth apartment bears the lords of Spain;  
 Whence I conclude, it is your author's lot,  
 To be endangered by a Spanish plot.

*Prologue.* (To the audience).

Our poet yet protection hopes from you,  
 But bribes you not with anything that's new.  
 Nature is old, which poets imitate,  
 And, for wit, those, that boast their own estate,  
 Forget Fletcher and Ben before them went,  
 Their elder brothers, and that vastly spent;  
 So much, 'twill scarcely be repair'd again,  
 Not, though supplied with all the wealth of Spain.  
 This play is English and the growth your own;  
 As such, it yields to English plays alone.  
 He could have wish'd it better for your sakes,  
 But that, in plays, he finds you love mistakes:  
 Besides, he thought it was in vain to mend,  
 What you are bound in honour to defend;  
 That English wit, howe'er despised by some,  
 Like English valour, still may overcome.

That is, the first astrologer regrets that the play is straight comedy, since to succeed it should have been an "opera" like *The Siege of Rhodes*. The second astrologer believes that it is "endangered by a Spanish plot," *i.e.*, by the recent popularity of *The Adventures of Five Hours*. Turning upon this reference and alluding to the opening of Tuke's prologue,

Th' are i' the right, for I dare boldly say,  
 The English Stage ne'r had so new a play, *etc.*,

the Prologue declares that Dryden, on the contrary,

Bribes you not with anything that's new.

Not all the wealth of Spain can make Tuke or his like the equals of Fletcher or Jonson. *The Wild Gallant* "is English and the growth your own;" it will not admit inferiority to any Spanish plot. Moreover, the author is sure you will not censure his shortcomings, because "in plays he finds you love mistakes;" a reference to the mistakes of Antonio, Henrique, and Carlos, in the complicated intrigue of *The Adventures*,<sup>33</sup> probably also with a covert sneer at Tuke's literary shortcomings, especially in versification.<sup>34</sup> Finally, the audience is bound to defend the proposition that, in spite of the low opinion held of it by "some" (i.e., notably Tuke in his epilogue), English wit will continue to triumph.<sup>35</sup>

Again in his epilogue Dryden resumes the attack. Tuke's epilogue had declared *The Adventures*

so subtly Writ,  
Men must have Wit themselves to find the Wit: . . . .  
The Knowing are his Peers, and for the rest  
Of the Illiterate Croud (though finely dressed)  
The Author hopes, he never gave them cause  
To think, he'd waste his Time for their Applause.

<sup>33</sup> Malone (*Critical and Miscellaneous Prose Works of Dryden*, I, 54) interprets the line as a reference to the mistakes of Teague in Sir Robert Howard's *The Committee* (seen by Evelyn on November 27, 1662). But is is enmeshed in a long passage the reference of which to *The Adventures* is unmistakable.

<sup>34</sup> Cf. the passages from the *Essay of Dramatic Poesy* to be quoted later.  
<sup>35</sup> In this preface the lines.

"Whence I conclude, it is your author's lot,  
To be endangered by a Spanish plot,"

have hitherto been misinterpreted by Dryden's editors and critics to mean that Dryden was translating from a Spanish source. (Cf. Scott in Scott-Saintsbury ed. of Dryden, II, 23; Saintsbury in the same, II, 25; Gosse, *Eighteenth Century Literature*, 41; Ward, *History of English Dramatic Literature*, III, 346; and (with modifications and misquotation) Courthope, *History of English Poetry*, IV, 438-9.) While Dryden's plot is not original (cf. his preface in *ed. cit.*, II, 27-28), his emphatic declaration in the prologue, "This play is English, and the growth your own," fixes his source as English, since if he is referring to the comedy's being simply an English adaptation, Tuke's play would be as English as *The Wild Gallant*. Incidentally, this unmistakable evidence that *The Wild Gallant* was not a translation from the Spanish removes the only piece of evidence of any weight supporting the belief that John Dryden had a reading knowledge of Spanish.

To this Dryden contrasts his own attitude:

There is not any person here so mean,  
 But he may freely judge each act and scene:  
 But if you bid him choose his judges, then,  
 He boldly names true English gentlemen:  
 For he ne'r thought a handsome garb or dress  
 So great a crime, to make their judgment less.<sup>36</sup>

Thus at the beginning of his career as a dramatist does Dryden give evidence of his unrivalled "knack of telling allusion to passing events . . . . as a prologue writer."<sup>37</sup>

It will be noted that the first edition of *The Adventures*, licensed for publication about two weeks after the production and failure of *The Wild Gallant*, bears upon its title page Tuke's answer, in the Horatian motto: *Non ego Ventosae Plebis Suffragia venor*, a pointed reiteration of his attitude that the approval or disapproval of the "windy multitude" was a matter of complete indifference to him. Doubtless Tuke intended that his opponent should take the adjective of the poet in all the pregnancy of its Latin meanings.

Dryden's *The Rival Ladies*, acted about the end of 1663, and printed the following year, also contains a possible allusion to *The Adventures*. The prologue comments upon the fallen estate of the contemporary stage:

You now have habits, dances, scenes, and rhymes;  
 High language often; ay, and sense, sometimes.  
 As for a clear contrivance, doubt it not;  
 They blow out candles to give light to th' plot.<sup>38</sup>

<sup>36</sup> Dryden, *ed. cit.*, II, 121.

<sup>37</sup> Saintsbury, *John Dryden*, 63-64. As further evidence of the impression that the controversy made upon him, we may note that thirty years later (and twenty years after Tuke's death) Dryden apparently had fresh in memory the eighth line of Tuke's prologue. In the dedication of the *Examen Poeticum* prefixed to his *Miscellany* of 1693 he observes, "At least, as Sir Samuel Tuke has said before me, a modest man may praise what is not his own." (Dryden's *Essays*, *ed. Ker*, II, 14.) The line had not appeared in print, and had probably not been uttered on the stage, since 1664.

<sup>38</sup> Dryden, *ed. cit.*, II, 141.

The last line may refer to the scene in which Tuke's Flora re-lights the extinguished candle by blowing upon it.<sup>39</sup>

But Tuke did not lack other adverse criticism. In the year following the appearance of the folio edition, there appeared a second edition. This is a quarto, and has the following title-page:

“The / Adventures / of / Five / Hours. / A / Tragi-Comedy.  
/ The Second Edition. / *Non ego Ventosae Plebis Suffragia venor*  
/ Horat. // Feb. 12. [sic] 1662. / Imprimatur / John Berken-  
head // London, / Printed for Henry Herringman, and are to  
be sold at his Shop / at the Sign of the Anchor in the Lower  
Walk of / the New Exchange. 1664.”

All prefatory matter to the end of the *Dramatis Personae* is re-set in carefully composited form, eight commendatory poems being inserted after the dedication. Except for the last three pages which are newly set up, the text of the play, quite unrevised, is in the original compositing,<sup>40</sup> though repaged to cover, with epilogues, one hundred and seven unnumbered pages. The eight commendatory poems<sup>41</sup> are by Colonel (later Sir) James Long, author of a non-extant work on *The History and the Causes of the Civil War*; John Evelyn, the diarist; Abraham Cowley, the most famous poet of the day; Dr. Jasper Needham, the friend and physician of Evelyn; Lodowick Carlile (or Carliell), a survivor of the generation of dramatists of the days of Charles I; Christopher Wase, classical scholar and translator, then headmaster of Dedham royal free school; William Joyner, a Catholic scholar, later to produce a successful Roman tragedy; and “Melpomene,” who may be pretty certainly

<sup>39</sup> *The Adventures*, V, 30-39.

<sup>40</sup> From the fact that the type was held for the second edition from before May 31, 1663 (when Pepys owned a copy of the first edition) until at least March 25, 1664 (when 1664 legally began), a period of some ten months, it is probable that the advisability of a second edition containing material in Tuke's defence must have been perceived very soon after the appearance of the folio. Undoubtedly the commendatory poems were the chief motive for the second edition. The publication of two single editions of a given play in two successive years is almost unparalleled in this period.

<sup>41</sup> Easily accessible in Dodsley's *Old Plays* (ed. 1874), vol. XV.

identified with Tuke's cousin Mary, wife of John Evelyn.<sup>42</sup> In the light of the failure of Dryden's *Wild Gallant* it is significant that these poems are very obviously a defense of Tuke against unfriendly critics, typically unsuccessful dramatists.

[You] raise the envy of those men who grieve  
To see your Play do's, and is like to live;  
While their crude births, for lack of genial fire,  
No sooner are produced, than expire,

says Dr. Needham; and Evelyn and his wife hint the same. According to Evelyn,

What though the Serpent bite, and Fools revile.  
He breaks his Teeth who thinks to hurt your File.  
But why would you be so Injurious to  
The other House?<sup>43</sup> all our old Plays undo?  
All our New ones at least? For who will write?  
Who can indeed, unless it be in spight?

And "MElpomene" adds a postscript to say:

You to all other Writers give their due;  
And forgive those, who have deny'd it you; . . . .  
Though (whilst you live) they envy your just Praise,  
They will (when dead) your Cypress wreath with Bayes.

In his preface of 1671 Tuke also refers to the "Haggard Muses" of his rivals.

Beside Dryden's, another fragment of the attack upon our author has come down to us in some satirical verses in a con-

<sup>42</sup> The grounds for identifying "MElpomene" with Mary Evelyn are as follows: The desire for anonymity, the sex of the pseudonym, the religious tone and general style of the lines (and shall we add, the addition of a postscript?) all point to a woman as the writer. The careful compositing of all new material in Q1 (aside from a few careless stage-directions) make it very improbable that the capital E is a misprint. "M. E." then, are probably her initials. Mary Evelyn's strong friendship for Tuke, (*cf.* her letters in Evelyn's *Diary*, IV, 59, 62-64), her able but modest character, the similarity between the sentiments and tone of the verses and those of her later criticism of Dryden's *Siege of Granada* (*ibid.*, IV, 56-57), and the presence of a poem by her husband in the same brief series, confirm the identification.

<sup>43</sup> The Theatre Royal, at which Dryden's *Wild Gallant* had failed.

temporary *Session of the Poets*.<sup>44</sup> Among the authors pictured as suing to Apollo for the laureateship,

Sam Tuke sat and formally smiled at the rest;  
 But Apollo, who well did his vanity know,  
 Call'd him to the bar to put him to the test,  
 But his Muse was so stiff, she scarcely could go.

She pleaded her age, desir'd a reward;  
 It seems in her age she doated on praise;  
 But Apollo resolv'd that such a bold bard  
 Should never be grac'd with a per'wig of bays.

His championship of Tuke brought Cowley also under the satirist's lash:

Savoy-missing Cowley<sup>45</sup> came into the court,  
 Making apologies for his bad play;<sup>46</sup>  
 Every one gave him so good a report,  
 That Apollo gave heed to all he could say.

Nor would he have had, 'tis thought, a rebuke.  
 Unless he had done some notable folly;  
 Writ verses unjustly in praise of Sam Tuke,  
 Or printed his pitiful melancholy.<sup>47</sup>

In general connection with the animated discussion of his play, it may be noted that Tuke received marked evidence of royal favor. On March 3, 1663-4, he was knighted, and on the 31st of the same month was created baronet. These honors foreran his marrying, although he must have been nearly fifty years of age, a lady, "kinsman to my Lord Arundel of Wardour."<sup>48</sup> Lord Arundell was Master of the Horse to the Queen

<sup>44</sup> The origin of these verses is obscure. As Sir John Suckling died in 1642, they cannot be his, as sometimes alleged (*Dictionary of National Biography* under "Cowley;" Davenant's *Works* (ed. Maidment-Logan), IV, 7; Emma A. Yarnall, *Abraham Cowley*). Neither are the verses to be confounded with Rochester's "Trial of the Poets for the Bayes," often referred to as his "Session of the Poets." Scott dates them as "about 1670" (Scott-Saintsbury Dryden, I, 68), but the quoted stanzas on Cowley must have been written between Tuke's folio of 1663 and Cowley's death in 1667.

<sup>45</sup> Cowley had applied unsuccessfully for the mastership of the Savoy.

<sup>46</sup> *The Cutter of Coleman Street*.

<sup>47</sup> See his poem, *The Complaint*, printed in 1663.

<sup>48</sup> Evelyn, *Diary*, under date of the wedding, June 3, 1664.

Mother, Henrietta Maria, and the ceremony was performed by "the Queenes Lord Almoner L. Aubignie in St. James's chapell." And to anticipate somewhat, it may be added that the King and Lord Arundell and the Countess of Huntingdon acted as godparents at the baptism of Tuke's only child (though by a second wife) on August 19, 1671.

Finally, Dryden's *Essay of Dramatic Poesy* (written during his stay at Charlton in 1665-66 and published in 1668) contains several references to Tuke's play, two of which seem to imply that it had been popularly accepted as the type of its class. "But of late years," he says, "Molière, the younger Corneille, Quinault, and some others, have been imitating afar off the quick turns and graces of the English stage . . . . Most of their new plays are, like some of ours, derived from the Spanish novels. There is scarce one of them without a veil, and a *trusty Diego*, who *drolls* much after the rate of the 'Adventures.'"<sup>49</sup>

Again, considerably later in the *Essay*, in illustrating the absurdities into which French poets are forced by their attempted observance of the unity of place, he says: "After this, the father enters to the daughter, and now the scene is in a house: for he is seeking from one room to another for [this servant,] this poor Philipin, or French *Diego*, who is heard from within, *drolling* and breaking many a conceit on the subject of his miserable condition."<sup>50</sup> Here, it will be noted, Dryden takes it for granted that his readers will easily recognize the "Diego" thus obscurely alluded to.

Again, during the course of his *Examen* of Jonson's *The Silent Woman*, Dryden observes: "To begin first with the length of the action. . . . It is all included within the limits of three hours and a half, which is no more than is required for the presentment on the stage: a beauty perhaps not much observed; if it had, we should not have looked on the Spanish translation of 'Five Hours' with so much wonder."<sup>51</sup>

<sup>49</sup> Dryden (Scott-Saintsbury ed.), XV, 330-331. The italics are mine.

<sup>50</sup> *Ibid.*, XV, 340-341. The italics are mine.

<sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, XV, 348.

And lastly, in defending rhyme Dryden thus pays his respects to Tuke:<sup>52</sup> "Is there anything in rhyme more constrained than this line in blank verse?—

I heaven invoke, and strong resistance make;<sup>53</sup>

where you see both the clauses are placed unnaturally; that is, contrary to the common way of speaking, and that without the excuse of a rhyme to cause it: yet you would think me very ridiculous, if I should accuse the stubbornness of blank verse, and not rather the stiffness of the poet."

These four allusions<sup>54</sup> to Tuke's play are particularly noteworthy because in the *Essay* Dryden carefully avoids criticism of other plays by Restoration authors. His only other mention of such is found in a piece of special pleading in behalf of the use of rhyme in plays, when he makes a complimentary reference to *The Siege of Rhodes*, *Mustapha*, *The Indian Queen*, and *The Indian Emperor*, in the writing of the latter two of which he had himself taken part. These allusions of Dryden complete a list of references to Tuke from friends and enemies which it would probably be impossible to parallel in the case of any other Restoration drama written before 1665, with the possible exception of *The Siege of Rhodes*.

### III. THE SIGNIFICANCE OF THE PLAY.

The Spanish source of *The Adventures*.—Tuke's play the earliest "Spanish Plot" of the Restoration period.—Extent of influence of Spanish drama upon Restoration drama.—*The Adventures* in connection with the Unity of Time.—"Heroic" elements in Tuke's version of the plot.—History of the use of the couplet in Restoration drama before *The Indian Queen*.

The significance of *The Adventures of Five Hours*, viewed from an historical point of view, is threefold: First and chiefly, it

<sup>52</sup> Dryden (Scott-Saintsbury ed.), XV, 362.

<sup>53</sup> *Adventures of Five Hours*, Act I, line 302. But Dryden carefully refrains from mentioning Tuke by name.

<sup>54</sup> For two or three other possible allusions to Tuke by Dryden, see page 50, *note 5*, and page 53, *note 11*; and for an explicit reference to *The Adventures* by Sir Robert Howard, see page 49.

appears to have been the first of the group of Restoration translations from the Spanish drama. Second, in the early Restoration period and for a number of years afterward, it was the recognized English exemplar of the neo-classic canon of unity of time. Third, in several respects it shows traits of the "heroic play," a point of minor importance but, on account of its early date, January, 1662-3, not negligible. These points must now be examined in some detail.

I. *The Adventures of Five Hours* is an adaptation of *Los Empeños de Seis Horas*,<sup>1</sup> a comedy then attributed to Calderon, but since assigned<sup>2</sup> to Antonio Coello, a courtier and dramatist of the time of Philip IV. From internal evidence that comedy appears to have been written shortly after 1632, the date of the capture of Maestricht by the Prince of Orange.<sup>3</sup> The intrigue of the Spanish play may be thus summarized:

Act I. Don Cesar porto Carrero has rescued a Spanish lady, Nise, from her Dutch captors, and after a brief interview, during which each falls in love with the other but in which he fails to learn her name, they are parted. Unable to trace her, he enters into an agreement with Don Enrique to marry Enrique's sister, Porcia. Porcia and Enrique are cousins of Nise and her brother Carlos. Porcia loves a young cavalier, Otavio, while Enrique loves Nise. As Enrique has accidentally witnessed an interview between Porcia and Otavio at Nise's home, he has been led to believe that Nise is engaged in an intrigue with Otavio. He has therefore with his friend, Don Diego, attacked Otavio, and in the struggle Otavio has

<sup>1</sup> The British Museum Catalogue erroneously calls it a translation of Calderon's *El Escondido y la Tapada*.

<sup>2</sup> That the play is not Calderon's is practically certain. It is not named by him in his own list of his dramas (*Biblioteca de Autores Españoles*, CII, xli-xlii), and it heads the list of 106 compiled by his friend Vera Tasis as falsely assigned to Calderon through the cupidity of booksellers (*ibid.*, VII, xxv). It is assigned to Coello by de la Barrera (*Catálogo . . . del teatro antiguo Español*, 96), by Schäffer (*Geschichte des spanischen Nationaldramas*, II, 89), and by the catalogue to the Ticknor Collection in the Boston Public Library. J. Fitzmaurice-Kelly (*Littérature espagnole*, 345) mentions "Antonio Coello . . . qui écrivit, paraît il, *Los Empeños de seis horas*."

<sup>3</sup> Cesar has a long speech (*cf. The Adventures*, II, 117-254), the language and tone of which would seem to indicate that it was written soon after that event.

killed Don Diego, and is consequently in hiding. On this highly complicated situation, with Enrique in love with Nise, Nise in love with Don Cesar, Don Cesar approaching to marry the hitherto unseen Porcia, Porcia in love with Otavio, and Otavio in hiding from Enrique and the law, the curtain rises. Upon learning from Enrique of Don Cesar's approach and identity, Porcia and Nise resolve to prevent the marriage from taking place. Through the casual borrowing by Porcia of Nise's mantilla, Don Cesar's servant, Arnesto, mistakes Nise for Don Cesar's betrothed, and the ladies encourage him in the error.

The scene shifts to another part of the town. Don Cesar meets his old friend Otavio at the moment when Otavio receives Porcia's summons to come immediately to her (and Enrique's) garden. Upon learning that the summons is one involving danger, Don Cesar offers to accompany Otavio, and the two enter into a solemn compact of mutual defense, Cesar promising to be on Otavio's side "even if it should be against myself."

Act II. Attacked in the garden by Enrique and Nise's brother Carlos, Otavio and Cesar make off with Porcia. Through a mistake of Quatrin, Otavio's servant and the *gracioso* of the play, Enrique and Carlos learn of Otavio's whereabouts, and Nise despatches Flora, Porcia's maid, to warn Porcia and Otavio of their coming attack. Meanwhile Don Cesar, believing Otavio and Porcia safe and quite unaware of whose garden he has entered and of what lady he has helped to abduct, leaves the two lovers and, entering by the front entrance of Enrique's house, meets Nise. He is informed by his servant Arnesto that Nise is his betrothed, and is overjoyed to find in her the lady whom he had rescued in Flanders. On his later expressing his delight in his bride to Enrique, the latter is amazed to learn that Porcia is apparently still in the house. Enrique is obliged to hurry out, however, to take part in the attack against Otavio.

The scene shifts to Otavio's house. Otavio has learned from Quatrin's belated confession that his whereabouts has been ascertained by Carlos, and sallies forth to find a chair in which Porcia may be safely borne to another retreat. In his absence Cesar returns, and being present when Flora enters with news of this coming attack, he offers to conduct Porcia to the abode of his own wife, and she is thus unwittingly borne back to her own home. Otavio, returning as Carlos and officers enter to apprehend him, conceals himself in the chair and, being mistaken for Porcia, is handed over to her kinsman Carlos, who bears the supposed Porcia, together with Flora and Quatrin, to his (Carlos') home for safe-keeping.

Act III. Don Cesar reintroduces Porcia, ignorant of her destination, into her own home, where she is brought face to face with her brother Enrique and her cousin Nise. Fearing lest Enrique may kill her for having sullied the family honor, she resolves with Nise to escape with Nise to

Nise's (*i.e.*, Carlos') home. Meanwhile Carlos returns to the house of Enrique with the news that Porcia is (as he supposes) confined in his (Carlos') house. Enrique knows that she is at her own home; but when a servant brings word of a discovery that Otavio also is at Carlos' house, Carlos and Enrique rejoice that the assassin of Don Diego is at their mercy. Force of circumstances compels them to inform Don Cesar that they are about to avenge the family honor on an enemy, and he, bound in the same close bonds of kinship by his coming nuptials with Enrique's sister and ignorant of the identity of the enemy, insists on accompanying them.

The scene shifts to Carlos' house. Here Otavio, Quatrin, and Flora are amazed to encounter Porcia and Nise, who have fled from Porcia's home. When Cesar, Enrique, and Carlos arrive to despatch Otavio, the women and Quatrin hurriedly secrete themselves in the next room and Otavio advances to meet his fate. Cesar, however, recognizes Otavio, and the problem of the play confronts him. Shall he protect Otavio and thus be false to the sacred obligations of kinship? Or shall he assist Enrique and Carlos and thus violate his solemn compact with Otavio? The gravity of the situation is increased when he hears Otavio's avowal that Otavio loves Porcia, his own betrothed. Soon determining on his course of action, Cesar joins Otavio in driving Enrique and Carlos from the room, bolts the door, and then himself attacks Carlos in order to remove the stain from his own honor by killing the lover of his bride. To save Otavio's life from Cesar, Porcia rushes from her hiding-place and readmits Enrique and Carlos. Cesar again turns in Otavio's defense, and Enrique and Carlos insist that Otavio shall marry Nise to save her honor (imperiled by Otavio's interviews with a woman at Nise's chamber window). Porcia and Nise intervene, risking death at the hands of their infuriated brothers. In the ensuing explanations it transpires that Cesar's supposed Porcia is really Nise, and that Otavio's interviews have been not with Nise, but with Porcia. Accordingly the two weddings are agreed upon (without consulting Enrique and Carlos), and the play abruptly ends.

This complicated and ingenious plot Tuke remassed into five acts, incidentally making some few interpolations. He prefixed a preliminary scene<sup>4</sup> mainly between Henrique and Carlos, dwelling particularly upon the Spanish "Severity to Women" and the cruelty of marriage by proxy.<sup>5</sup> He inserted a tame comedy scene appealing to his audiences' prejudices against the

<sup>4</sup> Act I, 1-106.

<sup>5</sup> Act I, 54-73.

Dutch.<sup>6</sup> In the beginning of the fifth act,<sup>7</sup> amplifying a hint contained in the servant's report to Carlos in *Los Empeños*, he introduced a new scene, the purpose of which it is hard to discover, unless it was to show a pure woman lighting an extinguished candle with her breath—a hazardous stage experiment. The conclusion of the fifth act was expanded to give certain explanations and to reconcile Henrique with the substitution of Camilla for Porcia as Antonio's bride. A slender comic subplot in the shape of love passages between Diego (Quatrin) and Flora was also inserted.

In general, however, Tuke preserved Coello's plot almost completely intact, even as to the arrangement of entrances, exits, and stage "business;" and the Spanish origin of the English tragicomedy was, as we have seen, one of its chief points of interest when it was first produced. In his public prologue to the first performance Tuke described it as "a Spanish plot," and in referring to the ingenuity of the complication added,

A Modest Man may praise what's not his own.

Dryden a month later feared that the success of *The Wild Gallant* was "endangered by a Spanish plot," but asserted that his play "yields to English plays alone." Tuke's hostile critics seem to have made stock of the fact that the work was a mere translation, and attributed its success to the Spanish author rather than to Tuke, if we may judge from the very evident desire of the writers of the answering commendatory poems to minimize the Spanish element. Abraham Cowley, for instance, likens Tuke to a "Conqueror" who has

<sup>6</sup> Act I, 397-471. Not to speak of the national rivalry in commerce and colonization, the Royalist audiences of the day were antagonistic to Holland's presbyterian faith, its republican form of government, and its alliance with France and enmity to Spain. Moreover, Charles II, for whom the play was avowedly written, had strong personal reasons for hating the Dutch burghers.

<sup>7</sup> Lines 1-49.

Home to us in Triumph brought  
 This Cargazon of Spain, with Treasures fraught;  
 You have not basely gotten it by stealth,  
 Nor by Translation borrow'd all its Wealth;  
 But by a powerfull Spirit made it your own;  
 Metall before, Money by you 'tis grown; . . . .  
 W' have seen how well you forein Oar refine;  
 Produce the Gold of your own Nobler Mine.  
 The World . . . . shall watch the Travels of your Pen,  
 And Spain on you shall make Reprisals then.

Dryden in the *Essay of Dramatic Poesy* twice mentions *The Adventures* as of Spanish origin; and John Evelyn, revising his *Diary* so much later that his failing memory confused Samuel Tuke with George, yet apparently clearly recollected the chief point of the controversy and noted that "the plot was incomparable but the language stiffe and formal."

The statement has frequently been made that the influence of the Spanish drama upon Restoration comedy was considerable. Scott, for instance, says that the English preferred "the Spanish comedy, with its bustle, machinery, disguise, and complicated intrigue," its "adventures, surprises, rencounters, mistakes, disguises, and escapes, all easily accomplished by the intervention of sliding panels, closets, veils, masques, large cloaks, and dark lanthorns."<sup>8</sup> And with regard to the chief literary figure of the Restoration period, Mr. Gosse observes that Dryden "had immense literary skill and adroitness, and he concentrated these qualities on the production of comedies on the Spanish plan."<sup>9</sup> It is very probable, however, that the direct influence of the Spanish upon the Restoration stage has been distinctly exaggerated. A careful comparative study of the dramas of the periods of Calderon and Dryden respectively remains still to be made; but it is certain that comparatively little direct influence has as yet been clearly indicated. Of the

<sup>8</sup> Scott-Saintsbury ed. of Dryden, I, 62-3. On the subject see also Ward, *History of English Dramatic Literature*, III, 305, 306 and note; Saintsbury, *A Short History of English Literature*, 484; Garnett, *The Age of Dryden*, 182-3; Traill, *Social England*, IV, 434.

<sup>9</sup> *History of Eighteenth Century Literature*, 45.

various plays of the period listed by Professor Ward as based directly or indirectly upon Spanish plays, eleven were written by 1669, and a twelfth probably in 1671, while two, and possibly five, more are scattered through the succeeding forty-three years.<sup>10</sup> Of those occurring by 1669, five are Restoration plays based directly upon Spanish originals; two are pre-Restoration plays, one revived in the Restoration period and one not known ever to have been produced; of one the Spanish source is merely hypothetical; one or two may be imitations of the Spanish style; and one is partly based upon the Spanish indirectly because that happens to be the source of its French original. Ranged in order of date of earliest known or surmised Restoration performance or of publication, these plays are as follows:

1. Tuke's *The Adventures of Five Hours*, first produced January 8, 1662-3. Its Spanish origin was referred to in the prologue and epilogue to the first performance in a tone indicating that this was a distinct novelty; was heavily emphasized by Dryden in the prologue to *The Wild Gallant*; was mentioned repeatedly in the eight commendatory poems that appeared in the edition of 1664; and was twice alluded to in Dryden's *Essay of Dramatic Poesy* in such terms as clearly to infer that the play had been popularly accepted as the typical "Spanish plot" of the day. It was very successful in production, led to controversy, and was published in 1663 and again in 1664.

2. Dryden's *The Wild Gallant*, first produced February 5, 1662-3. It is not a translation from the Spanish, as has been hitherto supposed, but is nevertheless not original with Dryden, being based apparently upon an English source.<sup>11</sup> It is non-extant in the form in which it failed in 1662-3, but is preserved in the considerably amplified<sup>12</sup> and revised form in which it finally succeeded in 1669.

<sup>10</sup> *History of English Dramatic Literature*, III, 304-6, 406, n. 2, and *passim*.

<sup>11</sup> See preface in Scott-Saintsbury ed., II, 27-28, and Dryden's prologue; also Ward, *op. cit.*, III, 346.

<sup>12</sup> See Dryden's prologue to the 1669 version.

3. Dryden's *The Rival Ladies*, produced late in 1663. This some authorities<sup>13</sup> assert to be a translation of a Spanish play, Professor Saintsbury even characterizing it as "imitating closely the tangled and improbable plot of its Spanish original." But no such Spanish original has ever been pointed out, and with the removal of *The Wild Gallant* from the list of Spanish translations there remains no proof that Dryden had a reading knowledge of Spanish, while there is considerable negative evidence that he did not. If *The Rival Ladies* is an imitation of the Spanish style, then almost certainly Dryden in this, his second play, is profiting by the lesson of the failure of *The Wild Gallant* and the success of *The Adventures of Five Hours* and of such other Restoration "Spanish plots" as may have already appeared.

4. Digby's *Worse and Worse*, seen by Pepys on July 25, 1664. The play is non-extant, but is surmised by Ticknor<sup>14</sup> to be based on Calderon's *Peor Esta que Estaba*.

5. Thomas Killigrew's *The Parson's Wedding*, first written in 1640 and revived in 1664, being seen by Pepys on October 11 of that year. It is based upon Calderon's *Dama Duende*, and possibly its revival may have some significance in connection with the Spanish interest, although its chief attraction at the day seems to have lain in its ribaldry.

6. Digby's *'Tis Better than it was*, stated by Downes<sup>15</sup> to have been produced at some time before the closing of the theatres on account of the plague in 1665. The play is non-extant, but is surmised by Ticknor<sup>16</sup> to have been a translation of Calderon's *Mejor Esta que Estaba*.

7. *Elvira*, probably by Digby, published in 1667. As the two preceding plays of Digby's were performed, this was probably also produced, but we have no record to that effect. It is

<sup>13</sup> Saintsbury, *Life of Dryden*, 42; Ward, *op. cit.*, III, 347; Scott-Saintsbury ed. of Dryden, II, 127; Nicoll and Seccombe, *A History of English Literature*, II, 487.

<sup>14</sup> *History of Spanish Literature*, ed. 1864, II, 392, n. 2.

<sup>15</sup> *Roscius Anglicanus*, 26.

<sup>16</sup> *Op. cit.*, II, 392, n. 2.

based upon Calderon's *No Siempre lo Peor es Ciento*.<sup>17</sup> Digby's return from exile took place on July 29, 1667, and he was immediately restored to high favor<sup>18</sup> with the King, a fact with which the date of publication has perhaps some connection.

8. Sir Thomas St. Serfe's *Tarugo's Wiles, or the Coffee-House*, based<sup>19</sup> on Moreto's *No puede ser*, and dated to the year 1668.

9. Dryden's *An Evening's Love, or the Mock Astrologer*, produced in 1668. It is after Corneille's *Le Feint Astrologue* (which is a version of Calderon's *El Astrólogo Fingido*), with a scene based upon Molière's *Le Dépit Amoureux*.<sup>20</sup> It represents French influence rather than Spanish.

10. The Earl of Orrery's *Guzman*, a five-act prose comedy seen by Pepys April 16, 1669, though not printed until 1693, many years after the author's death. Ward believes that "its plot and style . . . . point to some Spanish source."<sup>21</sup> Whether a translation or original, it is probable that this, Orrery's sole attempt at comedy, is an experiment with the development of a "Spanish plot."

11. Sir Richard Fanshawe's version of Mendoza's *Querer por solo querer*, published in 1671. This was translated in 1654 while Fanshawe was a Parliamentary prisoner on bail at Tankersley Park, Yorkshire, and in London. There is no record of its ever having been acted; and Fanshawe's almost continuous presence at Lisbon as English ambassador from shortly after May 8, 1661 (a date before the writing of plays for production became an aristocratic amusement under Charles II) until his recall and immediately ensuing death in Spain in 1666, makes any such performance very improbable.<sup>22</sup>

12. William Wycherley's *The Gentleman Dancing Master*, first produced in 1672, the similarity of the main intrigue and

<sup>17</sup> Ticknor, *ibid.*

<sup>18</sup> Pepys, *Diary*, VII, 196, 199.

<sup>19</sup> Ward, III, 406, *n. 2.*

<sup>20</sup> Saintsbury, *John Dryden*, 44; Ward, III, 406, *n. 2.*

<sup>21</sup> *Op. cit.*, III, 345.

<sup>22</sup> See *Dictionary of National Biography* under his name.

climax of which to Calderon's *El Maestro de Danzar* is entirely too close to be accidental. The fact that all three of Wycherley's other comedies show striking parallels to plays of Molière well illustrates the general tendency of Spanish dramatic influence in the Restoration period to disappear before that of France.

To glance rapidly over the list of other plays that have been referred by Dr. Ward to known or possible Spanish influence, Mrs. Aphra Behn's *The Dutch Lover* (1673) is said to be founded on a Spanish romance, *Don Fenise*,<sup>23</sup> and its object, according to Siegel,<sup>24</sup> is primarily to ridicule its Dutch hero, England having declared war against Holland in 1672. Her *The Rover*, Parts I (1677) and II (1681), are derived from Killigrew's pre-Restoration drama, *Thomaso the Wanderer*. John Leanerd's *The Counterfeits* (1679) is from a Spanish novel entitled *The Trepanner Trepanned*. Mrs. Behn's *The False Count* (1682) is "of Spanish type." Crowne's *Sir Courtly Nice* (1685) is from Moreto's *No puede ser*, and was written at the direct request of Charles II. Colley Cibber's *She Would and She Would Not* (1703) is based upon Leanerd's *The Counterfeits*. Steele's *The Lying Lover* (1703) owes only so much to the Spanish of Alarcon's *Verdad Sospechosa* as is present in its direct source, Corneille's *Le Menteur*. Mrs. Centlivre's *The Perplexed Lovers* (1712) as to "most of its plot" is "avowedly taken from a Spanish play;" and her *The Stolen Heiress, or The Salamanca Doctor Outwitted* (1702) and *The Wonder* (1714) are "very probably derived from Spanish originals."<sup>25</sup> It is a striking fact, as appears from the above list, that in the thirty years following 1672 the only English play known to have been founded directly upon a Spanish drama is that of Crowne (1685), which was made, not spontaneously, but by direct request of the King; and that we then reach 1712 before finding another

<sup>23</sup> Langbaine, 19.

<sup>24</sup> Aphra Behn's *Gedichte und Prosawerke*, in *Anglia*, XXV, 99.

<sup>25</sup> Above details generally from Ward, *passim*, and the *Dictionary of National Biography*.

play positively known to have been translated from a Spanish *comedia*.

The above cited facts seem to point pretty clearly to the following conclusions: Tuke's play was the earliest of the so-called "Spanish plots" of the Restoration period. Its success opened the way for other translations and possibly imitations in the immediately ensuing years. Of these the only ones known to us are the three by Digby (of which only *Elvira* is extant), St. Serfe's *Tarugo's Wiles*, and Orrery's *Guzman*. The revival of Killigrew's *The Parson's Wedding* may perhaps be due to the same cause. Not only is Dryden's *The Wild Gallant* not a translation from the Spanish, but in the lost 1663 version it can scarcely have been intended as an imitation of the Spanish style, as it was staged only twenty-eight days after the first performance of *The Adventures* and, if composed at the deliberate rate of speed usual with Dryden, must have been practically completed before it could have felt Tuke's influence. It is probable that Dryden's *The Rival Ladies* (1664) is an imitation of the Spanish style, but within two years he was declaring in the *Essay of Dramatic Poesy* that "by pursuing closely one argument . . . . the French have gained . . . . leisure . . . . to represent the passions . . . . without being hurried from one thing to another, as we are in the plays of Calderon, which we have seen lately upon our theatres under the name of Spanish plots," and that "there is not above one good play to be writ upon all those plots. They are too much alike to please often; *which we need not [adduce] the experience of our own stage to justify*."<sup>26</sup> In general, the wave of interest in Spanish drama inaugurated by *The Adventures of Five Hours* in 1662 was at its height between 1663 and 1669, and seems to have completely subsided, not only among audiences but also among dramatists, after the date of Wycherley's *The Gentleman Dancing Master*, 1671.<sup>27</sup>

<sup>26</sup> Arber's *English Garner*, III, 533, 541. The italics are mine.

<sup>27</sup> With this view compare the more extreme statement of Mr. M. A. S. Hume in his *Spanish Influence on English Literature*, 291.

II. At the time of first production of *The Adventures of Five Hours*, probably no feature of the play attracted greater attention than its observance of the unities of time and (less strictly) of place. The doctrine of these two unities, the first emphasized and the second invented by the sixteenth century Italian commentators upon Aristotle, had affected earlier English criticism in Sidney and earlier English drama in several works of Jonson. But Elizabethan criticism counted for little with the men of the Restoration and the significance of Jonson in this respect had in 1663 not yet been pointed out by Dryden. Shortly after 1550 the doctrine of the unities had found its way into France, had been largely followed in practice in French drama after 1634, and in 1659 had found emphatic expression in Pierre Corneille's essay on *Les Trois Unités*. It was from France that the English Restoration audiences derived their knowledge of the critical theory in question, and it is therefore decidedly curious that the earliest Restoration drama following the theory should be drawn from the Spanish. What makes it more curious is the fact that this feature, conspicuous in *Los Empeños*, stamps that play as peculiar in the Spanish drama itself. As a rule, neither Lope de Vega nor Calderon attempted to confine the time of dramatic action within any dogmatically established limits. But *Los Empeños* not only emphasized in its title the fact that it represents "the pledges of six hours," but by frequent allusions lets the audience know that the first act is supposed to begin at six o'clock and to end at eight, the second act to end at half-past ten, and the third at twelve. Tuke, probably ambitious for originality, after shifting the imagined time of the first act an hour later, named his adaptation "The Adventures of *Five Hours*," and in this form it went before the English public. As we have seen, Tuke called especial attention in the prologue to its observance of the unity of time, and in the epilogue both to the matter of the unity of time and to the narrow limits of its sphere of action. The fact that it was "all possible . . . . to be done in the time" was one of the elements earning Pepys'

admiration, and Dryden in the *Essay of Dramatic Poesy* declared that Jonson's *The Silent Woman* is all included within a time "no more than is required for its presentment on the stage: a beauty perhaps not much observed; if it had, we should not have looked on the Spanish translation of 'Five Hours' with so much wonder."<sup>28</sup> Moreover, its fame in this respect was more than temporary, for in 1691 (a year in which Anthony à Wood was still referring to it as "that celebrated Trag. Com."<sup>29</sup>). Langbaine calls it "One of the best Plays now extant for Oeconomy and Contrivance,"<sup>30</sup> and three years later Laurence Eachard, in his preface to *Terence's Comedies Made English*, discusses it as follows:<sup>31</sup>

The last objection [of the English to the rules of the ancients] is more particular: They say, That the Unities of Action, Time, and Place must needs take off from the great variety of the Plot, and a fine Story by this means will be quite murder'd. . . . . But this Objection may yet better be answer'd by instances; and first, for the Unity of Time, we may mention the Play called, *The Adventures of Five Hours*; the whole Action lasting no longer (much less a Day, the extent allow'd for a Dramatick Poem) yet this is one of the pleasantest Stories, that ever appear'd upon our Stage, and has as much Variety of Plots and Intrigues, without anything being precipitated, improper or unnatural, as to the main Action; so by this it appears, that this Rule is no Spoiler or Murderer of a Fine Story.<sup>32</sup>

Apparently it was largely owing to this encomium by Eachard<sup>33</sup> that Thomas Hull made from Tuke's *Adventures* an adaptation entitled *The Perplexities*, which was staged at Covent Garden on January 31, 1767, "acted about ten times," and printed later in the same year.<sup>34</sup> Thus the influence of Tuke's

<sup>28</sup> Scott-Saintsbury ed., XV, 348.

<sup>29</sup> *Athenae Oxonienses*, II, 802.

<sup>30</sup> *Account of the English Dramatic Poets*, 505.

<sup>31</sup> Pp. xv-xvi of the seventh edition (1729), the earliest to which I have access.

<sup>32</sup> Three years later Herod was out-Heroded. John Dennis published *A Plot and No Plot* (1697), in the preface to which he called attention to the fact that the action took place inside of *four hours*.

<sup>33</sup> See Hull's *Advertisement* to the play.

<sup>34</sup> See Genest, V, 132, 134; also *The English Drama* (1818), II. I regret that limitations of space will not permit me to discuss the relation of *The Perplexities* to *The Adventures*.

play in this respect was carried down well past the middle of the eighteenth century.

III. In an article upon *The Rise of the Heroic Play*<sup>35</sup> Dr. Clarence G. Child thus refers to *The Adventures of Five Hours*: "It is somewhat surprising, considering its source, to find that it contains indubitable heroic elements, and even frequent use of rhyme. . . . I have seen only the edition of 1712 . . . . Though I was not able to compare the later edition revised in the heyday of the heroic period, with the first edition of 1663, it seems worth while to indicate here the possibility that Tuke anticipated Orrery and Dryden." As Dryden himself ascribes the origin of the "heroic play" to the two parts of *The Siege of Rhodes* (1656 and 1661), the question is not of prime importance; yet it is nevertheless true that certain elements in *The Adventures*, derived partly from its Spanish original and partly from Tuke, must have reinforced the other influences that were to lead, in the next two years, to *The Indian Queen*, *The Indian Emperor*, and *Mustapha*, the earliest dated instances of the "heroic play" proper. These elements we must now review, incidentally mentioning certain other respects in which Tuke departs from his original.

(1) The climactic problem in *Los Empeños* dealt with a complex problem of honor,—the honor of the pledged word in antagonism with the honor engendered by obligations of kinship, the two further complicated by the strictly individual honor springing from Cesar's relation to his betrothed. The element of love *per se* plays but small part in it. But with Tuke the problem is resolved into the terms of love and honor as understood in the preceding drama of Fletcher, Carliell, and the earlier work of Davenant, and as they later became "the shibboleth and structural formula of the heroic play."<sup>36</sup> In

<sup>35</sup> *Modern Language Notes*, XIX (1904), 166-173.

<sup>36</sup> Child, *op. cit.*, p. 170. Cf. L. N. Chase, *The English Heroic Play*, 112-128; J. W. Tupper, *The Relations of the Heroic Play to the Romances of Beaumont and Fletcher*, in *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, XX, 615-616; P. Holzhausen's *Drydens heroisches Drama*, in *Englisches Studien*, XIII, 414-445; F. E. Schelling, *Elizabethan Drama, 1558-1642*, II, 349.

Tuke's treatment the Spanish honor of *kinship* receives little emphasis. At the crisis of the climactic scene Henrique exclaims,

What pause is this, Antonio? all your Fervour  
In the Concernments of your *Friend*, reduc'd  
To a tame Party with our Enimy?<sup>37</sup>

Moreover, with Tuke the honor is of a less occasional nature than in the Spanish in that Antonio's obligation to Octavio is not heightened by a special solemn pledge as is Cesar's, but springs solely from the general "Laws of Honor," to which Tuke several times refers, and which occur, though infrequently, in the later heroic play.<sup>38</sup> On the other hand, the love element in the problem is heightened. On hearing Octavio's avowal of love for Porcia, Antonio cries,

O Heavens! what's that I hear? thou blessed Angel  
Guardian of Honor, I do now implore  
Thy powerful assistance . . . .  
. . . . . it must ne'r be said  
That Passion [*i.e.*, love] made Antonio recede  
From the strict Rules of Honor.

Yet even in *Los Empeños* the pure love-and-honor conflict appears in subsidiary relations, and is accurately reproduced in *The Adventures*.<sup>39</sup>

(2) As to characterization, the *dramatis personae* of the cloak-and-sword *comedia*, *Los Empeños*, are (with the exception of the *gracioso*, Quatrin) gentlemen and ladies generally undifferentiated as individuals. Don Cesar, structurally central, is the conventional hero of Spanish drama, ardently rhetorical in love and bound by the Spanish code of dramatic morals, but only to a small extent the "hero super-sensitive" of the heroic play. Tuke, converting him into Don Antonio Pimentel, heightened him to a point much nearer the heroic ideal. He

<sup>37</sup> Act V, lines 459-61; *cf.* also lines 444-45. The italics are mine.

<sup>38</sup> Chase, *op. cit.*, 122-23. The following quotation is from *Adventures*, V, 512-20; *cf.* also V, 550-51, 577-78.

<sup>39</sup> Act I, 356-7; II, 230-6.

becomes a man of "transcendent merit." His fame is well nigh universal. His character is without blemish. The author evidently shares Camilla's view of his character:

You may as well believe that Nature will  
 Reverse the order of the whole Creation,  
 As that Antonio, a Man, whose Soul  
 Is of so strong, and perfect a Complexion,  
 Should ere descend to such a slavish Sin<sup>40</sup>

as treachery to his betrothed. He is no "light o' love." Having become enamoured of one lady, he enters into an engagement of marriage with another only from despair at ever finding the first, concurring with the "powerful persuasions" of his patron and "th' Importance of Friends advice." Perhaps the most distinctly "heroic" touch occurs after his first meeting with Camilla, when rushing back into battle,

Honor and Love

Had so inflam'd my heart, that I advanc'd  
 Beyond the Rules of Conduct, and receiv'd  
 So many wounds, that I with faintness fell.<sup>41</sup>

Again, Tuke has made some few changes in plot and dialogue in order to alter the Spanish Nise into the playful but immaculate Camilla. Modesty will not permit her to plan deliberately to reveal her love to Antonio, so that the dialogue is modified at the point where, in the Spanish, the two ladies frankly resolve to effect a transfer of Don Cesar from Porcia to Nise. Later, so "severely virtuous" is the young lady that she will not descend into the garden in search of Porcia lest she involve herself in "this unlucky Scandal." At the end of the play the only flaw that her brother can find in her is that she did not confide to him that Don Antonio was her gallant rescuer in Flanders. In her great but undescribed beauty, her capacity for love at first sight, her constancy to her lover, and her sedulous care for her reputation, she agrees with many of

<sup>40</sup> Act IV, lines 556-60.

<sup>41</sup> Act II, lines 242-5.

the women of the later heroic play, but the "heroic" influence is most apparent in her narration of the scene in which, unlike the helpless Nise, she dramatically wounds her Dutch assailant with his own dagger, and firm of soul and statuesque in pose, threatens to end her life rather than lose her honor.<sup>42</sup>

Two other characters were altered in Tuke's version. Henrique is newly conceived and emphasized rather after the fashion of Jonson, his "humor" being rage and lust of vengeance with an added touch of grotesque incapacity.

His Wits are onely in his Choler quick  
And his Hand ready in Revenge; he's so  
Extravagantly Jealous, he distrusts  
The Meaning of his own ill-chosen Words,  
And so at length can hardly fix on any.<sup>43</sup>

<sup>42</sup> Act I, lines 300-325. For the heroic heroine see Chase, 80-97; Tupper, 608-10.

<sup>43</sup> Act I, lines 496-500. We may here note certain other facts connecting Tuke with Ben Jonson, and especially with the play, *Every Man Out of His Humour*. (1) The Horatian motto to the 1663 edition of *The Adventures*, *Non ego Ventosae Plebis Suffragia venor*, had served as the last line of the Epilogue to Jonson's play. (2) In lines 4-11 of Tuke's 1663 Epilogue (quoted on pages 9-10), Tuke closely parallels a passage in Jonson's *Induction* to the same play: '*Mitis*. . . . What's his [the author's] scene?

. . . O, the Fortunate Island! mass, he has bound himself to a strict law there . . . He can not lightly alter the scene, without crossing the seas. *Cordatus*. He needs not, having a whole island to run through, I think. *Mitis*. No? how comes it then that in some one play we see so many seas, countries, and kingdoms, passed over with such admirable dexterity? *Cordatus*. O, that but shows how well the authors can travel in their vocation, and outrun the apprehension of their auditory." (3) The "Characters," or brief descriptions added to the names of the *dramatis personae* in the 1671 edition of *The Adventures*, a "novelty" to which Tuke called especial attention, probably found its suggestion in the similar list of "The Characters of the Persons" prefixed by Jonson to *Every Man out of His Humour*. (4) This "novelty" Tuke defends in his 1671 *Preface* by an application of Jonson's theory of comedy, thus generalized: "Plays being Moral Pictures, their chiefest Perfections consist in the Force and Congruity of Passions and Humors, which are the Features and Complexion of our Minds." While both of the elements of this statement, the assumed essential didacticism of worthy stage art, and the methods of characterization, are commonplaces of Restoration criticism, yet the *locus classicus* for both in Jonson, so far as concerns comedy, is again the *Induction* to the same play. It should be added that in his characterization of Henrique, practically his only "humor," Tuke, like Jonson, employs a temperamental bias, and not, like many Restoration dramatists, a mere superficial oddity of speech or behavior.

And Camilla's brother Carlos, originally almost as hot-headed as Henrique, in *The Adventures* becomes the cool temperate mentor of the latter and in chorus fashion comments on his folly. But only in the cases of Antonio and Camilla do the changes have any "heroic" significance.

(3) In atmosphere the Spanish *comedia* is more rapid in action and much lighter in effect than is *The Adventures*. The comic spirit sometimes occurs even in the words of the principal characters; while in Tuke's play the comedy is confined to the servants, and the serious sections are treated with a lofty, almost a painful, gravity—a distinctly "heroic" characteristic. Also gratifying to the Restoration taste were the Spanish scene and the dash of military background, with its hint of the pageantry of war.<sup>44</sup> Almost no attempt was made at local color.<sup>45</sup>

(4) Tuke's style is that of his age and based only to a very small extent on that of *Los Empeños*. He generally employs free paraphrase, although frequently reproducing the thought fairly closely and more rarely reproducing the Spanish sentence structure without strict adherence to the thought. He also usually breaks up the long Spanish speeches by the interjection of questions and comments by the other characters. Bearing in mind the general freedom with which he treats the sentence structure and diction of his original, we may glance at his more striking stylistic traits.

(a) The "strained romantically-enthusiastic spirit of sentiment and diction" characteristic of the heroic play reaches its height in Tuke in Act III, lines 377-422, where Don Antonio discovers that the lady whom he had met and loved in Flanders is, as he believes, identical with the lady whom he is to marry. At this point says Coello's hero:

<sup>44</sup> Cf. Tupper, 587; Schelling, II, 350.

<sup>45</sup> Cf. Chase, 157; also Schelling, II, 191-2, 205, 350. In the revision of 1671 Tuke inserted two Spanish phrases, but consistently replaced every original *Signior* by *Sir*.

Y si verdad pudo ser,  
 dichas mi suerte derrama;  
 pues juzgué al perder la dama,  
 la que al hallarla, es muger.  
 Incierto perdí el plazer,  
 y cierto le hallé este dia;  
 qué locura, ó qué porfía  
 es la de mi bien, que ordena  
 que os pierda yo, quando agena,  
 y que os halle, quando mía? . . . .<sup>46</sup>

In the forty-line passage from which the above is an excerpt Tuke makes the language hyperbolic. Camilla is "a Vision," "that Miracle," "Bless'd Apparition," "Celestial Maid."

That very Angel does once more appear,  
 To whose divinity long since I raised  
 An Altar in my Heart, where I have Offer'd  
 The constant Sacrifice of Sighs and Vows. . . . .  
 Bliss above Faith must pass for an Illusion.<sup>47</sup>

But although the language of the lover is so heightened by Tuke, the bombast of the "heroic" conqueror is scarcely hinted. Its only occurrence worth quoting is Octavio's speech to Diego, after learning that their place of refuge has been discovered.

Peace, cowardly Slave; having thus plaid the Rogue,  
 Art thou Sententious grown? did I not Fear  
 To Stain my Sword with such Base Blood, I'd let  
 Thy Soul out with it at a thousand wounds.<sup>48</sup>

(b) The stylistic mannerisms common not only to the heroic play but more or less to late seventeenth century poetry in general

<sup>46</sup> "And if it could be true, my fate pours down good fortune, since I thought I had lost the lady who, when found, is my wife. I lost an uncertain pleasure, and I found it certain today; what madness or what persistence is that of my happiness which ordains that I should lose you when another's, and that I should find you when mine!"

<sup>47</sup> Act III, lines 394-99. A similar but less highly marked inflation of Antonio's language occurs at I, 345-6, 358-60; II, 190-96, 207-13, 500-504.

<sup>48</sup> Act IV, lines 24-27.

eral, occur in *The Adventures*. Such are antithesis, sometimes preserved from the Spanish, but more often original; apophthegms both in blank verse and in couplet form; the conceit; personification of abstractions; and classical allusion, usually mythological. These require no discussion. More significant than these, however, is the stichomythic couplet debate, already employed in *The Siege of Rhodes*, and later to become almost a mania with the Restoration dramatists. This occurs, with very little Spanish influence on subject matter and none at all on form, in the eighteen-line passage where Antonio insists on accompanying Octavio to Porcia's home.<sup>49</sup> This mannerism is closely connected with the question of metre.

(5) Tuke generally translates the rapid tetrameters of *Los Empeños* into blank verse, usually decasyllabic with occasional instances of mere syllable-counting and of short lines, loose in construction, with many run-on lines and with occasional wrenched accents. But of the 3048 lines in the 1663 edition, 124 (or 4.6%) are rhymed couplets. The proportion is small, but it must be noted that these are not mere isolated "tags" appearing at intervals. Much of the effect of the couplet form depends on iteration; that is, the impression on the ear is disproportionately heightened when several couplets appear consecutively; and in seven distinct cases in the 1663 form of the play we find passages of from three to twelve distichs grouped together. In all, they contain 82 lines. Of these seven cases one is the stichomythic debate just referred to; two are stichomythic dialogue not in debate,<sup>50</sup> the later of the two cases treating pathetic subject matter; one<sup>51</sup> is the six-line couplet ending of a fourteen-line speech; one<sup>52</sup> is a six-line speech following the couplet-ending of a balanced stichomythic passage in blank verse; and two<sup>53</sup> are monologues, the earlier pathetic, the latter tragic in import. Of the couplets standing singly or in twos,

<sup>49</sup> Act II, lines 374-391.

<sup>50</sup> Act I, 134-43; IV, 77-84.

<sup>51</sup> Act I, 205-10.

<sup>52</sup> Act I, 481-88.

<sup>53</sup> Act I, 99-106; V, 258-81.

a number are employed as endings for speeches or sections of scenes ("tags"); and eighteen are buried in speeches. In the couplets as a whole there is a strong tendency to antithesis, and a weaker yet well-defined tendency to balance. Sometimes the couplet form is employed to point apophthegms.

The importance of the couplet form as an element in the heroic play is generally acknowledged.<sup>54</sup> The question who was responsible for its introduction has received considerable discussion. Mr. Gosse<sup>55</sup> claims for Etherege that in his *Comical Revenge* (acted in 1664) he was "the first to carry out the experiment of writing ordinary plays in rhyme." Ignoring the couplets in *The Siege of Rhodes* because they were probably sung or at least chanted, admitting our ignorance of the dates of Orrery's plays, remembering that Dryden's preceding attempts dealt with little more than a single scene, and interpreting the words "ordinary plays" as "spoken plays, original in the English," we may perhaps grant the point. But the history of the introduction of the couplet would appear to be generally as follows: Assuming its "classical" balance and antithesis in some of the epigrams of Jonson,<sup>56</sup> it passed down through Waller<sup>57</sup> and entered the dramatic form, mingled with other metres, in Davenant's "opera," *The Siege of Rhodes*, in September, 1656. In June, 1661,<sup>58</sup> *The Siege of Rhodes* was revived on the opening of The Duke of York's Theatre in Lincoln's Inn Fields; and not long after, the second part of *The Siege of Rhodes* was produced, a work of the same type. On January 8, 1663, Tuke's *Adventures of Five Hours* appeared, containing one stichomythic debate of eighteen lines and one rhymed monologue of twenty-four lines, so far as is known at present the earliest cases of sustained couplets spoken (not sung

<sup>54</sup> Cf. especially Chase, cap. i.

<sup>55</sup> *Cornhill Magazine*, XLIII, 286.

<sup>56</sup> F. E. Schelling, *Ben Jonson and the Classical School*, in *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, XIII, 235-245.

<sup>57</sup> For Waller's versification see H. C. Beeching, *A Note upon Waller's Distich*, in *The Furnivall English Miscellany*, 4-9.

<sup>58</sup> R. W. Lowe, *Thomas Betterton*, 83, correcting Downes.

or chanted)<sup>59</sup> on the Restoration stage. In the second week of February, 1663, there was produced in Dublin, and immediately sent printed to London, Mrs. Katherine Philips' translation of Corneille's *Pompée* into English heroic couplets, one scene of which she had finished in August, 1662.<sup>60</sup> At about the same time as the staging of Mrs. Philips' translation, there was completed another version of the same play, also in couplets, accredited to Waller, Lord Buckhurst, Sir Charles Sedley, and Go-

<sup>59</sup> With regard to *The Siege of Rhodes* two questions have been raised in this connection: (a) Was the "opera" sung throughout? (b) Was its revival at the Restoration in the form of an ordinary spoken play? The first question originates with Dr. Ward, who says (*op. cit.*, III, 328), "The dialogue is partly in heroic couplets, partly in short rimed lines; the latter only can be supposed to have been given *recitativo*." But it must be pointed out that Davenant himself explains his variation in meters as intended to produce variety in singing, though "*in spoken dialogue it would be both unusual and unpleasant*" (Maidment-Logan ed. of Davenant, III, 235); and that in the original material of 1656, in the 1661 additions to the First Part, and in the whole of the Second Part (1661) long dialogue passages in pentameter couplets (certainly to be spoken without chanting if any passage in the play was so delivered) are studiously interrupted by short lyric couplets or by a lyric interlinking of rhymes, a fact clearly indicating on Davenant's own authority that they were intended to be sung. The second question, whether *The Siege of Rhodes* was revived in 1661 as an ordinary spoken play, rests wholly upon the interpretation of Dryden's puzzling statement in his essay *Of Heroic Plays* (Scott-Saintsbury ed., IV, 19-20): "It being forbidden him [Davenant] in the rebellious times to act tragedies and comedies . . . . he was forced to . . . . introduce the examples of moral virtue, writ in verse, and performed in recitative musiq. . . . In this condition did this part of his poetry remain at his Majesty's return; when, growing bolder, as being now owed by a public authority, he reviewed his 'Siege of Rhodes,' and caused it to be acted as a just drama." At first glance this would appear to mean that in the 1661 performances, and later, the singing was eliminated. But the metrical features above mentioned in the sections written in 1661, taken in combination with the evidence of Davenant's preface, seem conclusive upon this point also. This evidence is corroborated by Evelyn's statement that on January 9, 1661-2, he "saw acted 'The Third [*i.e.*, Second—there was no Third] Part of the Siege of Rhodes'" and that it was in "recitativa musiq." Moreover, when on February 3, 1662-3, Dryden himself declared that the popularity of the play-form that was "one continued song" rendered the success of *The Wild Gallant* problematical, he can refer to nothing but *The Siege of Rhodes*, which was therefore not then being given as a spoken drama. In the face of this evidence I can come to no conclusion but that the words *just drama* are used in the sense *acknowledged drama* or *legally authorized drama* (or, in view of the crudeness of the production of 1656, perhaps even *adequately staged drama*), and that the early Restoration productions of *The Siege of Rhodes* were given in recitative throughout.

<sup>60</sup> Gosse, *Seventeenth Century Studies*, 248.

dolphin, and with which the names of Sir Edward Fillmore<sup>61</sup> and of Tuke<sup>62</sup> have also been connected. By the date March 8, 1663, when Pepys saw a production of *Heraclius*, we are able to judge of the date of the play that was written in competition with it, Lodowick Carliell's version of Corneille's *Héraclius*, translated entirely in rhymed pentameter.<sup>63</sup> Toward the end of 1663 was performed Dryden's *Rival Ladies*, with its 100 lines of "amatory battledore and shuttlecock" of argumentative nature and in couplets,<sup>64</sup> beside a rhymed couplet masque and five shorter rhymed passages—in all, 178 lines. In his dedication of this play to the Earl of Orrery in 1664, he advocates this "new way" of writing scenes in verse as being especially fitted for crucial scenes of "argumentation and discourse," and says of Orrery that he has "much better commended this way by writing in it, than I can do by writing for it."<sup>65</sup> Exactly how much of such writing Orrery had already done, and at what date, we do not know.<sup>66</sup> In the summer of 1664<sup>67</sup> Etheridge's *Comical Revenge, or Love in a Tub* was acted, the serious parts being wholly in couplets, the comedy in prose. Etheridge does not mention the couplets as an innovation. Finally, January, 1664, saw the first performance of *The Indian Queen*, by Sir Robert Howard and Dryden, the first of the series of "heroic plays" written entirely in the couplet form. In this

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, 251-2; Ward, *op. cit.*, III, 315, *n. 1*. Act IV of *Pompey* Dryden attributes to Lord Buckhurst (Arber's *English Garner*, III, 503). See also D. F. Canfield, *Corneille and Racine in England*.

<sup>62</sup> "At the end of an edition of Sir John Denham's poems, 'printed by J. M. for H. Herringman,' 1684, is a catalogue of other works published by the same bookseller, and among them this entry:—'By Samuel Tuke, and several persons of honour. Pompey.' " (Dodsley's *Old English Plays* (ed. 1876), XV, 188.) But from his attitude both in 1663 and in 1671 it is very improbable that Tuke was concerned in any play other than *The Adventures*.

<sup>63</sup> C. H. Gray, *Lodowick Carliell*, 41, *n. 3*; 46; 52-53.

<sup>64</sup> Act IV, sc. 1. The shorter passages will be found in Scott-Saintsbury ed., vol. II, pp. 156, 175, 177, 179-80, 187, 215.

<sup>65</sup> *Ed. cit.*, II, 134, 139.

<sup>66</sup> Despite the claim that *The Black Prince* was the earliest of Orrery's plays in heroic couplets, it was not acted until October 19, 1667 (Pepys); while *Henry the Fifth* was staged on August 13, 1664 (Pepys); *The General* (if that be his) on September 28, 1664 (Pepys); and *Mustapha* on April 3, 1665 (Pepys), and perhaps as early as 1663 (Child, *op. cit.*, 172-3).

<sup>67</sup> Gosse, *Seventeenth Century Studies*, 235.

respect, then, *The Adventures of Five Hours* stands as a notably early stage in the development of one of the chief traits of the heroic play.

To summarize the "heroic" traits in *The Adventures* as it appeared in 1663, it derives from its Spanish original the love-and-honor problem in subordinate relations and a problem chiefly concerned with honor in the crucial situation; a slightly heroic basis for the central character; a foreign scene and a slight hint of military background; and a certain small amount of rhetorical antithesis. From Tuke himself came the strong emphasis on love and friendship in the crucial situation; a very considerable "heroic" heightening of Don Antonio and, to a less extent, of Camilla; a more rigid separation of the comic and the serious portions of the play, and an added gravity in the treatment of the latter; a hyperbolic treatment of the language of love and a suggestion of the "heroic" bombast in one speech of anger; considerable use of antithesis, with some balance; apophthegms; personifications; and a limited but interesting use of the rhymed couplet, especially significant in connection with stichomythic debate.

Finally, it may be noted that, although the phrase "heroic play" had not yet become current, the term "heroic" was yet applied to *The Adventures* on its first appearance. In the commendatory verses that preceded the play in the edition of 1664 "MElpomene" says:

Finding this Age does want that noble pride,  
For which brave men of old were deify'd;  
And that those persons who are nobly born,  
Virtue, which made 'em so, do turn to scorn: . . . .  
In mere compassion to this wretched age  
You bring heroique Virtue on the stage.

And Long reiterates the thought:

The Work's Heroick; it redeems the Stage  
From flat and foul, whilst that reforms the Age.

One feels in reading the words that the time of the fully crystallized "heroic play" is near at hand.

## IV. THE REVISED VERSION OF 1671

The revival of *The Adventures* in 1669—The Dryden-Howard controversy of 1664–1668.—Relation of Tuke's version of 1671 to the controversy.—Last shots in the Dryden-Tuke feud.—Relation of Tuke's revision to the “Heroic Play.”

In January, 1668–9, *The Adventures of Five Hours* was revived. This we know from Pepys, whose diary entry on the 27th of that month, ends as follows: “And there we dined, having but an ordinary dinner; and so, after dinner, she [his wife] and I, and Roger, and his mistress, to the Duke of York's playhouse, and there saw 'The Five Hours' Adventure,' which hath not been acted a good while before, but once, and is a most excellent play, I must confess.” Again at this time it was at least once presented at court, as appears from Pepys' entry of February 15, 1668–9. The little diarist tells us how, on the evening of that day (rather curiously, the same as that on which he had his sole interview with Tuke and found him “I think, a little conceited, but a man of fine discourse as ever I heard almost”), he and his wife visited Whitehall, “and there, by means of Mr. Cooling, did get into the play, the only one we have seen [at court] this winter: it was 'The Five Hours' Adventure': but I sat so far I could not hear well, nor was there any pretty woman that I did see, but my wife, who sat in my Lady Fox's pew with her. The house was very full; and late before done, so that it was past eleven before we got home. But we were well pleased with seeing it.”

Certain considerations connect this revival with the appearance of a third edition of Tuke's play in 1671. This edition was an extensive revision of the original. It was in large quarto, with a title-page reading as follows:

“THE / ADVENTURES / Of / Five Houres: / A / TRAGI-  
COMEDY, / As it is ACTED / At His Royal Highness the  
Duke of YORK'S / THEATRE. / *The Third Impression.* /  
Revis'd and Corrected by the Author / Sir SAMUEL TUKE  
K<sup>t</sup>. and Bart. / —*Nonumque prematur in Annum.* / Horat. de Art.

Poet. / LONDON, / Printed by T. N. for *Henry Herringman*, at the Sign of the *Blew / Anchor*, on the *Lower Walk* of the *New Exchange*. 1671."

This edition omits the original dedication, prologues, and epilogues, and also the commendatory verses of 1664. A preface (omitted in the copy belonging to the Harvard University Library) is followed by a new prologue and a new list of *dramatis personae*, the latter extended, rearranged, and with brief characterizations attached to the more important names. There ensue one hundred pages of text, including a new epilogue. Various peculiarities in the spelling and punctuation, unnecessary to specify here in full, are convincing evidence that the revision was the work of the author even in minute details, and that the compositor followed him closely and in places even unintelligently.

The revised edition of 1671 shows unmistakably the influence upon Tuke both of Dryden's criticism and of the "heroic play" for the development of which Dryden was mainly responsible. By the time of the 1669 revival of *The Adventures* Dryden had added to *The Wild Gallant* and *The Rival Ladies* six, and perhaps seven, other dramas, namely:—several "heroic plays," *The Indian Queen* (1664; written in collaboration with Sir Robert Howard), *The Indian Emperor* (1665), *Secret Love, or the Maiden Queen* (1667), and perhaps also *Tyrannic Love, or the Royal Martyr* (not printed until 1670); two comedies from the French, *Sir Martin Mar-All, or The Feigned Innocence* (1667?; an adaptation of the Duke of Newcastle's translation of Molière's *L'Étourdi*), and *An Evening's Love, or The Mock Astrologer* (1668; in part after Corneille's *Le Feint Astrologue*); and a mutilation of Shakespeare, *The Tempest, or The Enchanted Island* (1667?; written in collaboration with Davenant). In addition, in 1669 (perhaps in 1667<sup>1</sup>) he revised and successfully produced *The Wild Gallant*, the play in which he had origi-

<sup>1</sup> On August 7, 1667, the play was entered on the Stationers' Register for publication, presumably in the revised form. (Malone, *Prose Works of Dryden*, I, i, 69.)

nally attacked Tuke and the first failure of which, it may be conjectured, Tuke had therefore not taken greatly to heart.

Moreover, between 1664 and 1669 Dryden and his brother-in-law, Sir Robert Howard, had had the well-known controversy which is the most important critical event of its decade. This controversy centred about the two questions, (1) of the legitimacy of the use of rhymed dialogue in serious drama, and (2) of the advisability of observing the "classic rules," especially the unities of time and place. So far as it concerns our subject, the discussion ran the following course:

Dryden prefixed to *The Rival Ladies* (published in 1664) a Dedicatory Epistle to the Earl of Orrery in which he advocated the use of rhymed dialogue in plays.

Howard, in his preface to *Four New Plays* (1665), took occasion to comment on the respective merits of English, Latin, French, Italian, and Spanish plays, and opposed the use of rhymed dialogue as unnatural.

During the plague of 1665-66, Dryden elaborated the notable *Essay of Dramatic Poesy*, a dialogue discussion of the respective merits of ancient, French, and English drama, involving a treatment of "the rules," and defending rhyme in drama as "as natural, and more effectual than blank verse." Introducing *The Adventures of Five Hours* for the first time into the controversy, he made four references and one possible allusion to it, as we have already seen, the most striking of these passages' occurring in connection with the unity of time: "[The action of Jonson's *The Silent Woman*] is all included in three hours and a half, which is no more than is required for presentment on the stage; a beauty perhaps not so much observed; if it had, we should not have looked upon the Spanish translation of *Five Hours* with so much wonder."

For some reason the *Essay of Dramatic Poesy* did not appear in print until after March 24, 1667-8. Later in 1668 Howard, in his preface to *The Great Favorite, or The Duke of Lerma*, replied to Dryden's *Essay*, insisting on the unnaturalness of rhymed dialogue and denying that the "classic rules" for drama

were founded upon reason. Attacking the conventional twenty-four-hour unity of time, he declared that it was "as impossible that *five hours* or four and twenty hours should be two hours and a half, as that a thousand hours or years should be less than what they are, or the greatest part of time be comprehended in the less."<sup>2</sup>

Still later in 1668 (before September 20, when Pepys read it), Dryden published *A Defence of An Essay of Dramatic Poesy* as preface to *The Indian Emperor*. Here, incidentally to answering Howard at length, he pointed out that while the less time cannot actually comprehend the greater, it can mirror-like represent it; he inquired whether the feigned business of twenty-four imagined hours may not be more naturally represented in the compass of three real hours, than the like feigned business of twenty-four years in the same "proportion" (or amount) of real time; and he declared that the thing to be sought was as close a "nearness of proportion between the imaginary and real time" as possible, wherefore he preferred *The Silent Woman* above all other plays, since in that play the real and the imaginary time were coextensive.<sup>3</sup>

In his plays, too, Dryden had taken occasion to emphasize the doctrine of the unities. In his prologue to *Secret Love* (1667) he pointed out that

He who writ this, (not without pains and thought)  
From French and English *Theatres*, has brought  
Th' exactest rules by which a play is wrought.

The Unities of Action, Place and Time;  
The Scenes Unbroken; and a mingled chime  
Of Johnson's humour with Corneille's rhyme.

And on the publication of the play in 1668 Dryden in his preface reaffirmed that "it is regular according to the strictest of dramatic laws; but that is a commendation which many of

<sup>2</sup> Vol. III, p. 577, of Arber's *English Garner*, where the five papers of the controversy are conveniently reprinted. The italics are mine.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, III, 595-597.

our poets now despise, and a beauty which our common audiences do not easily discern."<sup>4</sup>

A number of considerations link together the controversy between Dryden and his brother-in-law, the revival of *The Adventures* in January, 1668-9 (some four months only after the Dryden-Howard controversy had ended), and the publication of Tuke's revised third edition in 1671. It may be admitted that our information is not so complete as might be desired. We do not know why the revised edition did not appear until two years after the revival; and we cannot be sure that a second revival did not occur in 1670 or 1671. Pepys' note that the play "hath not been acted a good while before, *but once*," also introduces an element of uncertainty. Nevertheless, the general course of events seems reasonably clear. Dryden had early ridiculed Tuke, as we have seen, in the prologue and epilogue to *The Wild Gallant*, and probably also in the prologue to *The Rival Ladies*. In the *Essay of Dramatic Poesy* he had assumed a distinctly cavalier attitude toward the group of "Spanish plots;" he had expressed the view that the very brief time-lapse in *The Adventures* was really nothing very remarkable; he had inserted a statement that might be construed as an innuendo against the fundamental construction of Tuke's play; and he had deliberately pilloried a line of Tuke's for its awkward double inversion, plainly calling attention to "the stiffness of the poet."<sup>5</sup> Apparently, also, as we shall see, at least

<sup>4</sup> Pepys, who saw the play on March 2, 1666-67, notes that it was "mightily commended for the regularity of it." (This may be a mere echo of the prologue, however.) In the same year Shadwell, in his preface to *The Sullen Lovers*, also says: "I have in this Play, as near as I could, observed the three Unities of Time, Place, and Action. The time of the drama does not exceed *six hours* [!]; the place is in a very narrow compass; . . . . I have here, as often as I could naturally, kept the Scenes unbroken, which, though it be not so much practised or so well understood by the English, yet among the French-Poets is accompanied a great Beauty." (Spingarn's ed. *Critical Essays of the Seventeenth Century*, II, 148-9).

<sup>5</sup> In the dedication of *The Rival Ladies* Dryden had already written, "I know some, who, if they were to write in blank verse, *Sir, I ask your pardon*, would think it sounded more heroically to write, *Sir, I your pardon ask.*" (Scott-Saintsbury ed., II, 129.)

In the light of the other circumstances of the case, Tuke may also have taken offence at Dryden's statement, "There is no *Theatre* in the world has

one other remark of Dryden's in the *Essay* Tuke took to himself. Now within a period of ten months at most after the appearance of Dryden's *Essay*,<sup>6</sup> during which time two other contributions to the controversy had appeared, Howard's containing a distinct reference to Tuke's title, the revival of Tuke's play occurred. Whether the controversy had stimulated public interest in that well-remembered exemplar of the unity of time, and it had been staged as soon as Sir Samuel could make the revision he desired; or whether Tuke, stung by what he considered a renewed attack on the part of Dryden in the *Essay*, had of his own accord set to work at revision and pressed the play on to rehearsal and re-staging; or whether, after all, the closeness of the two dates is a mere coincidence—it is now impossible positively to say. Certain it is, however, that the revision was based on a revival, and that this is the only revival near to 1671 of which we know. Certain it is, also, that Tuke revised with a keen eye on Dryden and his work, and that in various ways he endeavored to disarm further criticism.

The new and dignified prologue, spoken by Betterton himself, repairs the slight to a part of his audience, of the presence of which in the original epilogue Dryden had so effectively made capital. He now appeals to his hearers as

Persons of the most exalted Sense,

and asks that they

consider well, the just respect

Due to their [all authors'] Poems, when they are correct . . . .  
. . . . he [the author] has now compounded with Ambition  
For that more solid Greatness, Self-fruition.  
And going to embrace a civil Death,  
He's loath to die indebted to your Breath; . . . .

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anything so absurd as the English Tragi-Comedy . . . . Here, a course of mirth; there, another of sadness and passion; a third of honour; and the fourth, a duel. Thus, in two hours and a half, we run through all the fits of Bedlam." (*Ib.*, III, 531.) Tuke's play contains all the elements cited.

<sup>6</sup> March 25, 1668, to January 27, 1668-9:—it was probably a considerably shorter period.

. . . . . they who treat such Judges should excell,  
 Here, 'tis to do ill, to do only well;  
 He has, as other Writers have, good Will,  
 And onely wants (like those) Nature and Skill;  
 But since he cannot reach th' envied Height,  
 H' as cast some Grains in this to mend the Weight;  
 And being to part w' you, prays you to accept  
 This Reviv'd Piece, as Legacy, or Debt.

In his epilogue, and in the same elegiac tone, the speaker comments upon the morality of the play and indulges in a side thrust at the licentiousness and blasphemy of contemporary dramatists:

That's Bawdery, . . . . .  
 Which our Late Poets make their chiefest Tasks,  
 As if they writ onely to th' Vizard-Masks.<sup>7</sup> . . . . .  
 Nor that Poetick Rage, which hectors Heaven,  
 Your Writers Stile,<sup>8</sup> like's Temper's grown more even;  
 And he's afraid to shock their tender Ears,  
 Whose God, say they's the Fiction of their Fears;  
 Your Morals, to no purpose. He reply'd  
 Some Men talk'd idly just before they dy'd.  
 And yet we heard 'em with respect: 'Twas all he said.  
 Well we may count him now, as good as dead:  
 And since Ghosts have left walking, if you please,  
 We'll let our Virtuous Poet rest in Peace.

In the revised edition of 1671 Tuke substituted for the self-sufficient aristocratic motto of 1663, "Non ego Ventosae Plebis suffragia venor,"<sup>9</sup> the more modest quotation, "Nonumque prematur in Annum."<sup>10</sup> The old prologue and epilogue were excluded. The new preface, which affects an air of gentlemanly negligence, is deliberately misleading. It is "something new that Trifles of this nature should have a Second Edition," but the revision was due to the fact that a lady had desired him to "make a Song and insert it." He had not cast his

<sup>7</sup> I.e., prostitutes.

<sup>8</sup> I.e., Tuke's.

<sup>9</sup> Horace: *Epistolae*, I, xix, 37.

<sup>10</sup> Horace: *De Arte Poetica*, 388.

eyes upon this piece since it was first printed; and now, "finding there some very obvious Faults," he "could not well imagine how they came to escape my last hand." He reaffirms the didactic purpose of the play; reiterates that "though the Author Converses with but few, he Writes to all;" and closes with an assurance to "Those who have been so angry with this Innocent Piece" that he "pretends not to any Royalty on the Mount of Parnassus" and that he "will sing no more, till he come into that Quire, where there is room enough for all; and such, he presumes, is the Good Breeding of these Critiques, that they will not be so unmannerly as to crowd him there."

The preface carefully avoids all personal reference to Dryden, and its whole tone would lead the reader to underestimate the extensiveness of the revision. This was quite sweeping; and a number of the changes point unmistakably to John Dryden as the cause of the revision rather than to the lady to whom Tuke refers. Not only did Sir Samuel shift his attitude toward his audience, but he carefully smoothed out the inversions from about thirty lines, including the one that Dryden had publicly criticized. In several cases he recast lines to avoid the use of "unto," a word that Dryden had cited as one of the marks of an "ill poet,"<sup>11</sup> and perhaps for the same reason he elided "do," "does," and "did" in a score of instances.<sup>12</sup> Moreover, the marked increase of couplets, to be hereafter discussed, is perhaps to be ascribed as much to the part the question had played in the Dryden-Howard controversy as to the practice of Dryden and Orrery.

One matter about which Tuke must have felt especially nervous, however, was the question of unity of time, which had originally contributed so much to the reputation of the play.

<sup>11</sup> The "ill poet . . . . creeps along with ten little words in every line, and helps out his numbers with *For to* and *Unto*, and all the pretty expletives he can find, till he drags them to the end of another line." (*Essay of Dramatic Poesy*, in Arber's *English Garner*, III, 510.)

<sup>12</sup> These forms were of course passing out of use as unemphatic affirmative auxiliaries, but this alone will not account for the change. Only six years after first writing them Tuke cut out the great majority of these forms, in one case (I, 586) even substituting to avoid one in a negative verb!

Howard had said that *The Adventures* did not observe true unity of time at all, because the imaginary time exceeded the real time. Dryden, although he had said nothing in favor of Tuke's play, had advocated its underlying time-principle as correct, and had pointed to Jonson's *Epicene*, with its three-hour time-lapse, as ideal. Under the circumstances this feature would be more than ever a centre of interest—and possible criticism. Apparently Tuke deliberately attempted to distract attention from it. In striking contrast to his original prologue and epilogue, his new prologue, epilogue, and preface are alike silent with regard to it, but all heavily emphasize Tuke's attitude as a "Vertuous Poet" presenting "Moral Pictures." Still, could the time-unity of the play be at all strengthened? He had already shortened the six hours (6 to 12 p.m.) of his Spanish original to five hours (7 to 12 p.m.). He could not, if he would, still further diminish them, for this would involve changing his now celebrated title. But apparently he conceived the idea that, by shifting his action from between seven and twelve to between six and eleven, he could create an illusion synchronizing the middle three acts of his play with the actual time of an evening court performance and throwing Acts I and V into perspective, and that he could thus establish a nearer approach to that exact coextension of the imaginary and real time, which Dryden had declared to be the ideal. The court performances must have begun at some time between seven and half-past seven (the exact time being in a measure dependent upon the arrival of the royal party), and were apparently over by ten or a little later.<sup>13</sup> Now if Tuke

<sup>13</sup> The basis for these statements is as follows: Under October 26, 1666, after seeing Etherege's *Comical Revenge*, Pepys noted, "The play done by ten o'clock." Of the Whitehall performance of Tuke's play, 1668-9, Pepys says, "Late before done, so that it was past eleven when we got home." Cf. also under February 22, 1668-9. These notes would fix the usual end of the performance as from 10 to perhaps 10.30. Now, in the controversial passages cited above, Howard, desiring to emphasize the shortness of the time of performance, declares it "two hours and a half," and Dryden in his answer reduces his original "three hours and a half" (for the time of production of *Epicene*) to a generalized "three hours." Basing on these data, the hour of beginning a court performance was certainly not usually later than half-past seven. Seven o'clock, modified by royal tardiness, is not improbable.

shifted the imaginary time of beginning his action from seven to six o'clock, his first mention of time at (imaginary) seven o'clock at the end of the first act<sup>14</sup> would seem natural to the audience as roughly coinciding with the actual time of beginning the performance, and the antecedent dramatic events would be imaginatively thrust back in real time. The phrase *ten a clock* at IV, 59, would then become *nine a clock*, approximately the hour when the fourth act might be expected to begin. Naturally, at IV, 527, a back reference to the beginning of the play as *Afternoon* rather than *Evening* would deepen his perspective. Finally, the reference to *twelve a clock* at the end of the performance (V, 770-772) must be wholly omitted, as eleven o'clock would be some hour later than he anticipated the play would come to a close. These changes Tuke certainly made; and the fact that the imaginary time of the play was shifted forward one hour seems to admit of no other explanation.

Later, to complete here the story of the Dryden-Tuke feud, in *Marriage à la Mode* Dryden answered Tuke's generalized charges of licentiousness with one more thrust at *The Adventures* and its author. Tuke, in his revision, had remodeled the beginning of the first act, giving to Henrique an opening soliloquy,

How happy are the Men of easie Phlegm,  
Born on the Confines of Indifference; *etc.*

In *Marriage à la Mode*, which was probably staged at some time between March 1, 1671-2, and May 14, 1672,<sup>15</sup> Dryden again contrasted himself with Tuke, driving the allusion home by applying the awkwardly phrased lines of Henrique to Sir Samuel himself. Dryden's epilogue begins:

<sup>14</sup> Instead of *Eight* as in (1663) I, 570.

<sup>15</sup> The prologue indicates that the time was immediately after the combination of France and England against the Dutch in 1671-2. According to the entries in Evelyn's *Diary*, preparations for war began in Council about February 12, 1671-2; without declaration of war the English attacked and were repulsed by the Dutch convoy of the Smyrna fleet on March 12; the official review of the great English fleet raised to overwhelm the Dutch was delayed from May 10 to May 14; and the great naval engagement of the war occurred on May 28.

Thus have my spouse and I reformed the nation,  
And led you all the way to reformation;  
Not with dull morals, gravely writ, like those  
Which *men of easy phlegm* with care compose—  
(Your poets with stiff words and limber sense,  
*Born on the confines of indifference*;  
But by examples drawn, I dare to say,  
From most of you who hear and see the play.

As the force of such an allusion depends upon its timeliness, this would seem to indicate that Tuke's edition of 1671 appeared not much before March 24, 1671-2. In fact, it would even lend color to the hypothesis of a revival in 1671 upon which the revised edition was based. Be that as it may, Sir Samuel did not again appear in print, and two years later went to "rest in Peace."

The alterations just referred to, however, form but a small proportion of the changes made in the revised edition.<sup>16</sup> Many of these alterations are for rhetorical or metrical reasons; but in a number of cases there is in them a larger significance. To a certain extent they show the influence of the increasingly popular "heroic play." Thus, the period of the play being pushed back from about 1632, the date of the Siege of Maestricht, and the relief of Juliers, to that of the siege of Mons in 1572, the name of the hero, Don Antonio Pimentel, is changed to Don Antonio de Mendoza; that of his commander-in-chief, the historical Marquis de Velada, to the Duke of Alva; and that of his patron, formerly Velada, to Marquis d'Olivera. If the last name was suggested by that of the Count Duke de Olivarez, the chief power in Spain between 1621 and 1643, the three are all of distinguished connotation. Yet the last name of the hero occurs but four times; the Marquis d'Olivera is mentioned but three times; and the single reference to the Duke of Alva seems introduced chiefly to give an opportunity of offering a defense

<sup>16</sup> According to my analysis on the convenient basis of modern rhetoric, aside from the changes above referred to and innumerable alterations in mere spelling and punctuation, fifty lines or passages in the 1671 edition were revised for clearness, thirty-seven for force, eighty-one for ease, and eighty-seven for metrical reasons.

for his quite indefensible barbarity to the Dutch. Even a single incidental allusion to Sir Francis Drake is conceived neither in a "heroic" vein nor in a patriotic spirit. These changes do not materially contribute to the dramatic effectiveness of the play.

The part of Henrique has had the slight admixture of *grotesquerie* removed and has been made more dignified. A brief soliloquy gives an introductory exposition of his character, and repeatedly the bloodiness of his purpose is alluded to in softened tone.<sup>17</sup> So, too, occasional minor alterations add dignity to other characters. Antonio no longer "confesses" that

there are Affronts so great,  
And heightned by such odious Circumstances,  
As do release us from the usual Forms  
Of Generous Revenge; and set us free  
To tak't on any Advantage.<sup>18</sup>

Octavio no longer suggests that when a fugitive in the sedan-chair he was "a poor Bird shut in a Cage," nor in a critical moment does he permit Porcia to leave him on the ground that her presence will increase his danger.<sup>19</sup> And generally throughout the play the characters address each other in more polished language.<sup>20</sup>

The "heroic shibboleth" is repeated afresh in Octavio's words,

I'l leave my Genius to inform the World,  
My Life and Death was uniform; as I  
Liv'd firm to Love and Honour, so I die;<sup>21</sup>

and again in Antonio's retort to Henrique—probably the most "heroic" lines in the play—

<sup>17</sup> Cf. III, 63, 140, 197, 544; IV, 302, 328, 335, 414; V, 25, 221, 363, 426-9, 439; also the curious case at V, 200. Cf. *wounded* for *slain* at III, 282.

<sup>18</sup> Act V, 227-231. Cf. also II, 96, 97; V, 185, 620.

<sup>19</sup> V, 20-23, 426-9. Cf. also IV, 273-4.

<sup>20</sup> I, 5-6, 527-9; III, 147, 172, 523, 525; IV, 50, 91, 472, 699; V, 8, 196, 203, 219, 282-3, 385, 657, 667, 683, 699-700. *You* is sometimes substituted for *thou* even when spoken under stress of emotion or to servants (II, 29; IV, 25, 216).

<sup>21</sup> After V, 439.

My Honour, Sir, is so sublim'd by Love,  
'Twill not admit Comparison or Rival.<sup>22</sup>

Finally, the number of rhymed couplets, including considerable rhymed couplet debate, has been considerably increased. Out of a total of 333 entirely new lines, 166 are in rhymed couplets. Thus the number of lines in couplets in the revised edition rises to 282, almost ten per cent of the total number of lines in the revised play. The original seven cases in which series of three or more couplets occur, in the second quarto have risen to eighteen. Prominent in the new material are a serious stichomythic couplet debate (20 lines), a stichomythic debate of serious couplets alternating with comic (22 lines), a non-stichomythic couplet debate (12 lines), two non-stichomythic couplet debates with intermingled unrhymed lines, and an epilogue (14 lines) distributed in couplets among the various members of the cast.<sup>23</sup>

In conclusion we return to the query is this "a piece refashioned to suit a prevailing taste?" The answer is, only to a very limited extent. Tuke seems to have been actuated in his revision mainly by a desire to silence adverse criticism, especially that of John Dryden, and to give a final polish to the work on which chiefly rested his claim to a place in the world of letters.

#### V. SUMMARY

To recapitulate, the following would appear to be the noteworthy facts with regard to *The Adventures of Five Hours* and the other questions touched on in this study:

1. The play is a free translation from the Spanish *comedia*, *Los Empeños de Seis Horas*, attributed to Don Antonio Coello and probably written shortly after 1632. The English version was made by Colonel (later Sir) Samuel Tuke. The assignment of a share in the work to George Digby, Earl of Bris-

<sup>22</sup> After V, 624. Cf. after IV, 111.

<sup>23</sup> These passages are found respectively after II, 91; V, 317; V, 206; III, 260; IV, 71; and V, 774.

tol, may be dismissed as resting upon a single unreliable statement and being opposed by a number of weighty considerations.

2. First produced on January 8, 1662-3, in the tentative period between the reopening of the theatres in 1660 and the earliest successes of Dryden and Etherege, the play became the literary sensation of the day. In several respects it anticipated the leading features of immediately succeeding dramatic developments.

3. It was pretty certainly the first English translation of a Spanish play produced after the Restoration, and by its popularity inaugurated the series of "Spanish plots" upon the Restoration stage. So far as recent investigation shows, however, this period of direct influence of Spanish drama upon Restoration drama lasted only about a decade.

4. Appearing not quite four years after Corneille's essay on the Unities, Tuke's play was immediately accepted as a remarkable case of observance of the Unity of Time, and seems to have been the stock example of it for many years. This led to its being rewritten as a prose comedy, more than a century after Tuke's first version.

5. Produced some eighteen months before the earliest of the "heroic plays" by Dryden, Howard, and the Earl of Orrery, *The Adventures* is not a "heroic play"—unless the "opera," *The Siege of Rhodes*, is to be so considered, there as yet was none. But it is equally true that it is not a mere *comedia de capa y espada*. Not only has its main intrigue been somewhat rephrased in terms of the English love-and-honor conflict, but it treats that intrigue with "heroic" gravity, its hero has been given distinctly "heroic" traits, its language is frequently "heroically" heightened, and it occasionally uses the rhymed couplet and stichomythic debate; and the heightened "heroic" effect is in no way motivated, as is the case with *The Siege of Rhodes*, by the necessity for supplying a libretto suitable for musical embellishment. That both Parts of *The Siege of Rhodes* were sung throughout in the performances from 1661 to Febru-

ary, 1662-3, seems certain from the joint evidence of the meter of Davenant, of Evelyn, and of Dryden.<sup>1</sup>

6. Out of a circle of adverse critics of *The Adventures* emerges the figure of John Dryden, just on the threshold of his career as a dramatist. Both in satirical stage allusions and in formal criticism he commented on the crudities in *The Adventures*, and he attempted to make capital for himself out of Tuke's supercilious attitude toward the general public; but he also recognized the trend of popular taste, and after the failure of *The Wild Gallant* (which we do not possess in its original form, and which was *not* a translation from the Spanish, as is generally supposed, and, it may be pretty certainly stated, not even an imitation of the Spanish), he wrote (in all probability rather than adapted) a comedy of the Spanish type, *The Rival Ladies*. He also became the chief agent in the development of the "heroic play," being probably chiefly influenced by Davenant. Incidentally it may be noted that with the removal of *The Wild Gallant*, from the list of Spanish translations disappears the only reason of weight for believing that Dryden had a reading knowledge of Spanish; and it may be repeated that in the use of the rhymed couplet in plays Dryden was anticipated not only by the sung *Siege of Rhodes* and by passages in *The Adventures*, but also by three complete translations in pentameter couplets from the French of Corneille.

7. A revival of *The Adventures* in 1669 was followed by the publication of a "revised and corrected" edition in 1671, which clearly attempts to render pointless Dryden's criticism of the play, and in which the reflex influence of the "heroic play" is discernible, mainly in a number of slight changes in characterization and tone and in the insertion of several additional passages of couplet debate. To Tuke's references (1671) to the ribaldry and blasphemy of contemporary dramatists Dryden (in *Marriage à la Mode*, 1672) made a contemptuous retort concerning Tuke's "dull morâls," "stiff words," and "limber sense."

<sup>1</sup> See page 43, note 59.

8. After being revived at the Haymarket Theatre on February 3, 1701,<sup>2</sup> and at Drury Lane on October 9, 1727,<sup>3</sup> *The Adventures* was recast as a prose comedy, *The Perplexities*, by Thomas Hull and in that shape staged at Covent Garden on January 31, 1767.<sup>4</sup> Though limitations of space have prevented a full discussion, it may be said that the sequence of the Spanish cloak-and-sword *comedia*, the two Restoration tragicomic versions, and the eighteenth century prose comedy, enables us to follow the successive modifications in the treatment of one ingenious plot from the rigors of the drama of Calderon to the urbanity of the England of Chesterfield.

<sup>2</sup> Genest, *op. cit.*, II, 364. W. D. Adams (*Dictionary of the Drama*, I, 20) adds "compressed" without citing authority.

<sup>3</sup> Genest, III, 197. Adams, *ibid.*, adds "still more compressed" without citing authority.

<sup>4</sup> Genest, V, 132, 134.

# THOMAS HEYWOOD'S *THE FAIR MAID OF THE WEST*

ROSS JEWELL

## I. EDITIONS OF THE PLAY

*Edition of 1631.* The two parts of *The Fair Maid of the West* were printed in quarto in 1631. There is no trace of any other early edition. Copies of the quarto are scarce, but there are two in the British Museum and several other English libraries possess copies. There is also a copy in the Barton collection of the Boston Public Library; and another in a considerable collection of Early Editions of English Plays belonging to the University of Pennsylvania.

Collation: Part I, A-I in fours, the title on A2. Part II, A-M2 in fours, the title on A2.

A woodcut of a lady appears on both title-pages. If the cut was a new one made expressly for this play, which was far from the invariable practice of the period, it probably represents Queen Henrietta before whom the two parts had recently been presented. But perhaps we should recognize in this cut the heroine after her introduction to foreign courts.<sup>1</sup>

The acts are not divided into scenes, the lines are unnumbered, and Part II is without pagination. Collier states that the list of actors prefixed to Part I is without heading in the "old copy" and supplies "Dramatis Personae" in square brackets. There is no such lack in the only copy of the quarto I have seen. The printing of the quarto is a fairly good piece of work, but the following passages are certainly corrupt: I, i, 270; I, i, 306; I, ii, 2; and II, iv, 171. Mr. Fleay<sup>2</sup> reports the latter part of Part II to be "very corrupt," but an exami-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. her own statement, I, iv, 133.

<sup>2</sup> *A Biographical Chronicle of the English Drama, 1559-1642*, I, 295.

nation of the closing acts together with the variants will show that nearly all the difficulties can be readily surmounted by improving the punctuation—a task which Collier performed very well. If the author saw the proofs, as he certainly authorized the publication, he must be held responsible for the constant carelessness in the division of the blank verse into lines. Greater care on the author's part would also have improved the measure in a great number of lines.

*Edition of 1850.* In 1850 J. Payne Collier edited both parts for the (old) Shakespeare Society, modernizing the spelling and punctuation and emending without much hesitation. These departures from the text of the quarto are for the most part silent, notwithstanding the following statement in his introduction: "We have never felt ourselves at liberty to make the slightest insertion or omission, without either placing the added word within brackets, or distinctly mentioning in a note the exclusion of a particle. The language is Heywood's, to which we have adhered with scrupulous fidelity." The omission of two speeches at II, ii, 15-18, is a rather serious oversight.

*Edition of 1874.* Both parts appeared in the complete edition of *The Dramatic Works of Thomas Heywood*, published by John Pearson, London, 1874.<sup>3</sup> The text is a fairly accurate reprint of the quarto through Part I and the first two acts of Part II, but in the remaining three acts Collier's punctuation is continually and silently adopted. In the matter of italicizing, too, Pearson is very unreliable. With the exception of a bare half-dozen the notes are copied *verbatim* and without acknowledgment from the edition of Collier.

*Edition of 1888.* In 1888 Part I, with four other plays of its author, appeared in the *Mermaid Series of The Best Plays of the Old Dramatists: Thomas Heywood*; edited by A. Wilson Verity, with an introduction by J. Addington Symonds. In a prefatory note the editor says: "The text of four of the

<sup>3</sup> Under date of March 26, 1908, Pearson and Company, write me as follows concerning the editorial work of this edition: "As far as we remember the late Mr. Richard Herne Shepherd was the editor."

plays contained in this volume is substantially that of Pearson's reprint (1874); the exception is *The Fair Maid of the West*, reprinted from the edition by Collier, though I have felt it necessary to dissent from Collier's readings in several places. For the convenience of the reader I have attempted to indicate the changes of scene in the whole of the plays, marking also the probable locality of each scene, and altering the rather vague and unsatisfactory stage directions of the old copies." Conformably to the popular character of the series the notes are brief and pointed rather than full and illustrative. An unfortunate printer's error, by which line 255 of the first act is made to follow line 258, renders one of Spencer's speeches unintelligible. In general, it may be said that Verity's readings are preferable to Collier's where they differ, as are also his modernizations, and the excellence of the edition is such that there is no room for another modernized text of this part of the play.

## II. DATE OF *The Fair Maid of the West*

The *Stationers' Register*<sup>1</sup> contains the following entry:

16to die Junij 1631

Richard Royston Entr'd for his Copie under the handes of Sir  
Henry Herbert and master Harryson warden  
a Comedy Called *the fayre mayde of the west*:  
1st and 2d parte[s] . . . . . vjd

We learn from the title-pages (1631) that these plays had been "lately acted before the King and Queen" by the "Queens Majesties Comedians;" and it is stated in the first address to the reader that they had been "plausible in the publick acting." We know nothing further of the history of the comedies anterior to their appearance in quarto. The two items of information just mentioned, that the plays had been performed before the Court and the public, are virtually repeated in the dedicatory epistle of the second Part, but nothing is added.

<sup>1</sup> Arber's *Transcript*.

Even the date of the Court performance, which Mr. Fleay attempts to fix as "probably at Christmas, 1630," is wholly a matter of conjecture.

As was inevitable in such a case, the composition of the plays has been assigned to a considerable variety of dates. Collier, referring to them in 1831, has this to say: "Written, as can be proved from internal evidence, before the death of Elizabeth."<sup>2</sup> The evidence, however, was not permanently satisfactory even to Collier, for in his edition of the play he corrects a slip of the Mayor's, who has called himself "the Kings Lieutenant,"<sup>3</sup> thus: "The Mayor ought to have said, the Queen's lieutenant, the time being 1597; but, when this play was written, the Mayor of Foy was the King's lieutenant."<sup>4</sup>

The occasion of the earlier reference calls for further notice. The mention of the play with the reference to its date occurs in a foot-note to a ballad dealing with the attack of prentices upon the "Cock-pitt Playhouse in Drury Lane," on March 4 (Shrove Tuesday), 1616-7, and copied by Collier "from a contemporary MS." Among the stage effects destroyed, according to the ballad, were

Besse Brydges gowne, and Muli's crowne

but the following related line is better left unquoted, especially as the whole thing is probably only a skillful forgery. Upon these two lines as a basis Collier makes this statement in his edition: "We know that they [the two plays] were in existence in 1617, when an attack was made upon the Cock-pit theatre, in Drury Lane, where they had been frequently acted."<sup>5</sup>

Questionable as its foundation certainly is if we recall the notoriously unscholarly conduct of Collier, this statement has

<sup>2</sup> *A History of English Dramatic Poetry*, I, 403. But in the same volume (*Additional Notes and Corrections*, p. xxii), he adds: "This remark ought to have been limited to the *first part* of the play. The date of the *second part* is more uncertain."

<sup>3</sup> Cf. I, iii, 187.

<sup>4</sup> For an earlier notice of this slip (but later than Collier's *Annals*) see Genest, *Some Account of the English Stage*, IX, 591.

<sup>5</sup> Collier, Introduction to *Fair Maid of the West*, p. viii.

been widely accepted. It stands in a passage of some length which is quoted from Collier in the Pearson edition<sup>6</sup> without comment, and Verity<sup>7</sup> repeats the main fact without question and, indeed, without indicating its source. In the first edition of his *English Dramatic Literature*, Ward describes the play as "certainly acted by 1617"<sup>8</sup> and he continues of the same opinion in his life of Thomas Heywood in the *Dictionary of National Biography* (1891). But in 1891 appeared also Fleay's *Biographical Chronicle of the English Drama*, in which its author with characteristic vehemence denounces the ballad as the "most impudent of all fabrications." His argument is based on the Greenstreet papers,<sup>9</sup> which show that Heywood was a Queen's man at the Bull at the time of the attack upon the Cockpit, then occupied by the Lady Elizabeth's men. In the second edition of *English Dramatic Literature*<sup>10</sup> Ward cites Fleay on the authenticity of the 1617 tradition and makes the date of the play "about ten years earlier" than the publication.

Mr. Fleay's further efforts to fix the date of composition can not be reckoned among his greatest services to the history of English drama. Commenting upon the *Andrew* of I, v, 128, he asserts dogmatically that the allusion is to Andrew Cane, "actor at the Cockpit in 1622, and perhaps later, but before 1630." Continuing he says: "The end of Part 2, which surely has a by-reference to the Queen of Bohemia—

And you, the mirror of your sex and nation,  
Fair English Elizabeth, as well for virtue  
As admired beauty,

must have been written about 1622, 'ere you depart our Court.' This would agree with the reference to Andrew Cane." And he concludes with this remarkable passage: "*The Proud Maid*, acted at Court by the L. Eliz. men 1612, c. Mar. (and

<sup>6</sup> Ed. Pearson, Vol. I, *Memoir*, p. xxi.

<sup>7</sup> Ed. Verity, *Introductory note*, p. 76.

<sup>8</sup> II, 112.

<sup>9</sup> *Transactions of the Shakespeare Society*, 1885.

<sup>10</sup> II, 567. A statement made in the former edition, that "the play was acted before King James," was now withdrawn.

absurdly identified with *The Maid's Tragedy* by some critics), was probably founded on the ballad of *The Proud Maid of Plymouth*, S. R. 1595, Oct. 15, and this *Proud Maid of Plymouth* was probably Bess Bridges; but this could not have been Heywood's play, as he was then writing for Queen Anne's men."<sup>11</sup>

Professor Schelling in his *Chronicle Play*<sup>12</sup> dates *The Fair Maid of the West* 1612, but in his *Elizabethan Drama*<sup>13</sup> he makes it "before 1603." In both cases the date occurs in the "List of Plays" and the grounds for the assignment do not appear, though it would seem from the mention of the play in the text that his earlier opinion was based on the popular interest in piracies from about 1609 onward. M. Jusserand mentions the play twice in the same volume, dating it each time, but the dates are twenty-one years apart!<sup>14</sup>

There is in the play, however, one word which, rightly understood, solves the vexed question of date—*Mullisheg*. Our heroine's royal admirer is no other than Mulai Sheik, who after a period of civil strife following upon the death of his father was proclaimed King at Fez in 1604.<sup>15</sup> There is not the slightest doubt that European interest in Moroccan affairs at this period was considerable, and the dramatist who had already brought the Virgin Queen upon the stage<sup>16</sup> now introduces to London playgoers the temporarily triumphant Moroccan Prince whose enigmatical character and spectacular career make anything but dull reading at a distance of three centuries. It is enough to say of him here that he was the favorite son, by a concubine, of Mulai Ahmet El-Mansour,<sup>17</sup> who made him Viceroy of Fez and took the field against him, named him his suc-

<sup>11</sup> Fleay, *Biographical Chronicle*, I, 295-6.

<sup>12</sup> P. 277.

<sup>13</sup> II, 564.

<sup>14</sup> *Histoire Littéraire du Peuple Anglais*, II, 520: "joué vers 1621;" p. 811: "joué . . . vers 1600."

<sup>15</sup> Cf. I, iv, 163-178.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. *If you know not me*, Part II, where an agent from Morocco is also introduced and the battle of Alcazar reported.

<sup>17</sup> This king died of the plague August, 1603.

cessor and threw him into prison; that one brother ordered his death and another planned to put out his eyes; that the Fezzans remained loyal to him while they condemned his wantonness; and that he was treacherously slain in camp in 1613 some years after his political star had set.<sup>18</sup>

There is only one obstacle in the way of this view and that is not insurmountable. Heywood makes Elizabeth and Mulliseg contemporary monarchs,<sup>19</sup> which involves an anachronism of a few months, but the dramatist may have thought of Mulliseg for a moment as Viceroy of Fez and, as an offset, Tota is hardly thinking of the Virgin Queen when she says of Spencer:

If private men be lords of such brave spirits,  
How royall should their *Princes* be.<sup>20</sup>

That the first act of the play represents events of the year 1597 need not trouble us, for by the time Bess reaches Fayal

The Towne's reedifide, and Fort new built<sup>21</sup>

and although one of her Spanish prisoners refers to Elizabeth as upon the throne,<sup>22</sup> a certain amount of time must be represented by the chorus at the end of the fourth act. The Mayor of Foy's slip, noted above, proves conclusively that the author's mind was moving in the borderland of two reigns.

It is further worthy of note that Clem, who has "newly come into [his] Teenes,"<sup>23</sup> seems to have no clear recollection of his father who died "the last deare yeare." He knows his father's honesty "by the report of his neighbors," and he has "heard them say" that as constable he "bolted and sifted out" a great

<sup>18</sup> There is at least one other contemporaneous reference to Mulai Sheik in English drama. In Barnabe Barnes' *Devil's Charter*, pr. 1607, Baglioni (ed. McKerrow, l. 1514) makes a punning allusion to "the dreadful name of *Mulli-sacke*," where the editor understands "mulled sack!"

<sup>19</sup> Cf. I, v, 103-18.

<sup>20</sup> Cf. II, ii, 374-5.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. I, iv, 241.

<sup>22</sup> Cf. I, iv, 336-8.

<sup>23</sup> Cf. I, ii, 35. For the following quotations cf. 40, 48, and 52, of the same act.

amount of business in "that one yeare of his raigne." Now if this was the same dear year that took off Robin Ostler, it was probably 1596,<sup>24</sup> which would bring Clem's conversation with Bess into accord with the date suggested by the appearance of Mulai Sheik.

The oft-repeated assertion that the *Fair Maid of the West* is one of the late plays of its author finds no support in the drama itself. The comparative scarcity of rhyming passages says nothing for a later date than we have assigned, while dumb show and chorus favor, though they by no means establish, an early date of composition. Better arguments aside, the whole tone of the piece is indicative of an earlier period, and the passages in praise of Queen Elizabeth must have been written for a public which had known her as sovereign and that at no very distant date.

### III. THE QUESTION OF SOURCES

The source of the plot has not been discovered, nor, strange to say, has any suggestion been made in this direction. Expressions of opinion, although sufficiently numerous, have gone no further than affirmation or denial of the author's originality.<sup>1</sup> Genest sees in the last word of the Chorus at the end of the third act of Part II a hint of an original:

More of their fortunes we will next pursue,  
In which we mean to be as brief as *true*.

But it would be easy to exaggerate the significance of "true" here. "Pursue" was the natural word to use in the preceding line and demanded a rhyming word that the speech might end with the usual couplet. Genest's statement<sup>2</sup> that the Chorus

<sup>24</sup> Cf. the opinions of various scholars upon *1 Henry IV*, II, i, 11-14.

<sup>1</sup> That the plot is original is, in general, the older view; but so late an authority as Courthope (*History of English Poetry*, IV, 215) makes the general statement that Heywood's plots are "invariably invented by himself."

<sup>2</sup> *English Stage*, IX, 590-4: "He had such an abundance of materials on his hands, that he found it convenient to relate some of the incidents by means of a Chorus."

was introduced to condense the original must also be taken with caution. The Chorus may quite as well have been a device for stringing together episodes having originally no connection.

At I, ii, 238, however, there is something that looks very much like a suggestion of an original:

Caroll fell by me,  
And I fall by a *Spencer*.

The lines belong to Spencer, the hero of the drama, who with Goodluck has been attempting to put a stop to a duel between the two Captains who visited the Castle tavern with Carroll in the first act and who were present when the latter was killed by Spencer. One of these Captains, then, bore the name of Spencer, and presumably he is the Spencer whose death is announced a little farther on and to whom the hero refers as "kinsman" in line 465 of the same act. But how should our hero know the name of his antagonist? Does he not remember it from an earlier time when they figured together in an earlier story?

But it is altogether probable that any original the dramatist may have had before him contained suggestions for Part I only,<sup>3</sup> which constitutes a completed play and was doubtless so considered for a time by playwright and public. Its popularity, however, warranting a sequel, it was only a matter of preparing new trials for the lovers. By providing the King of Fez with a Queen a variation of the old device of mistaken bedfellows becomes possible, and when at the end of three acts the pair is once more dismissed with royal bounty, Chorus readily transfers the party to Italy for a repetition at the Florentine Court of the princely love and ultimate bounty which we have twice witnessed at the Moorish Court.

<sup>3</sup> It would not be surprising if we should some day find an earlier story containing the material of the first four acts.

## IV. LATER HISTORY

The only trace I have found of a seventeenth century production of the play later than the publication is contained in the notice of the drama in Hazlitt's *Manual*: "According to MS. Sloane 1900, it was performed at the King's Arms, Norwich, in 1662." The *Biographia Dramatica* (1812) has the following entry:

"*The Northern Inn; or The good Times of Queen Bess.* Farce, altered by S. Kemble, from Heywood's *Fair Maid of the West; or, A Girl worth Gold.* Acted at the Haymarket, August 1791. Not printed."

Genest<sup>1</sup> adds that the occasion was Mrs. Stephen Kemble's benefit, August 16, and gives the second title as "the Days of Good Queen Bess." In 1899 portions of the first two acts of Part I were inserted in an acting version<sup>2</sup> of *Fortune by Land and Sea* arranged for the annual theatricals of the Harvard Chapter of Delta Upsilon.

On April 23 and 24, 1901, there was a notable revival of the play (Part I only) at the Hyperion Theatre, in New Haven, Connecticut, by the Yale Dramatic Association. The scenery, representing the Swan theatre, was that previously used by the Harvard English Department in a production of *The Silent Woman*. An Elizabethan audience had been trained for the occasion, and the details of an Elizabethan performance were observed even to the displaying of the red flag upon the theatre. Clem's humours and Ruffman's cowardice delighted the audiences, and the spontaneity of the applause throughout renders probable the assertion on the title-page of the quarto that it had been acted "with approved liking." The recent conflict with Spain doubtless heightened the enjoyment of the spectators in the humiliation of the Spaniards.<sup>3</sup>

Collier asserted that he had "in his possession a long ballad in MS., founded upon the plays."<sup>4</sup> If we make the only safe

<sup>1</sup> *English Stage*, VII, 41.

<sup>2</sup> By Janet Edmondson Walker.

<sup>3</sup> See illustrated articles in the *Yale Daily News*.

<sup>4</sup> Collier, Introduction to *Fair Maid of the West*, p. ix.

disposition of this unsubstantiated statement, we have left but one example of the literary influence of *The Fair Maid of the West*—a novel, whose scarcity is my excuse for giving in full Hazlitt's notice<sup>5</sup> of the only copy of which I have any knowledge:

The English Lovers: or, A Girle Worth Gold. Both Parts, so often acted with General Applause; now newly formed into a Romance. By the accurate Pen of I. D. Gent. London, Printed for H. Brome at the Gun in Ivy-Lane, 1662. 8°. Part I., A-E in eights: Part II., A-M, in eights, M8 with an Advertisement. Dedicated by John Dauncey to the Lady Elizabeth Bloundel. Part 2 has in this, the Bliss, copy a separate title dated 1661. This Novel is founded on Heywood's *Fair Maid of the West*, 1631.

Incidentally, the confusion of two centuries as to the spelling of the author's name and even his identity is cleared up by the signature to the dedication. Winstanley<sup>6</sup> gives his name correctly, bestows lavish praise upon the romance, and quotes curious commendatory verses. Langbaine<sup>7</sup> notes the origin of the plot and confuses two distinct authors in attributing the novel to "John Dancer, alias Dauncy." The *Biographia Dramatica* adds nothing and assigns it to the wrong man. Hazlitt himself in earlier volumes gives the name of the author as "Daunce." It will be noted that the date of the novel coincides with the date of the performance of the play recorded above, and further that the title-page bears testimony to the popularity of our drama.

## V. A SAILOR DRAMA

In *The Fair Maid of the West*—if we may speak for a moment of Part I only—Heywood scores a brilliant success in a field in which he is, like Mullisheg, "sole without competitor." The sailor is a familiar figure in Elizabethan drama. Hardly anything is more common than the introduction of scenes at

<sup>5</sup> *Bibliographical Collections and Notes 1474-1700. Third and Final Series. Second Supplement.*

<sup>6</sup> *Lives of the Most Famous English Poets* (1687).

<sup>7</sup> *An Account of the English Dramatick Poets* (1691).

sea, with the inevitable storm and shipwreck or occasional sea-fight—all subsidiary, however, to the main action. But here is a play in which all the leading characters are sailors, and the life portrayed, whether on shipboard or in seaport taverns, is that of the sailor class in the age of Drake and Raleigh.

More highly idealized pictures of various phases of English life can be found in the plays of Heywood's contemporaries, but no truer transcript of contemporary life has been transmitted to us. The unconventionality of seafaring men, their proneness to drink and score, their readiness to give offense and resent insult, their delight in feminine beauty with a certain scepticism as to virtue, are all brought vividly before us, along with their devotion to their country, a devotion that to them is synonymous with hatred of Spain. And through all runs the story of the constant and ultimately happy love of a sailor and a sailor lass.

That the hero of the play is a gentleman sailor only heightens its truthfulness to the times. The very spirit of the age speaks in Spencer's reply to Captain Goodluck as to his motives in joining the expedition to the Azores:

Pillage, Captaine?  
No, tis for honor; And the brave societie  
Of all these shining Gallants that attend  
The great L. Generall, drew me hither first:  
No hope of gaine or spoyle.

If it be objected that Bess is an impromptu sailor, the answer is that she treads the deck as though to the manner born, nor are we willing to doubt that Clem realized his ambition to "prove an honour to all the Drawers in Cornwall."

The age produced other dramas of travel and adventure, but there is no comparison between *The Fair Maid of the West* and such plays as *The Travailles of Three English Brothers*, *A Christian turn'd Turke*, and *Dicke of Devonshire*—although the last named is far from being a poor play and contains a clown much like Clem. What the character of the lost plays

of this class—we have notices of several—was, we can only surmise. A play by Heywood and William Rowley bears some resemblance to ours in certain of its scenes, but *Fortune by Land and Sea* is in reality a domestic drama with several pirate scenes inserted.

Any similarities that may exist between our play and Massinger's *Renegado* are too slight to warrant discussion here of a drama so totally unlike Heywood's charming story of "Spencer and his westerne Besse."

*THE VALIANT SCOT, "BY J. W."*

JOHN LINTON CARVER

I. INTRODUCTORY

In the year in which Ben Jonson died, and about five years before the closing of the theatres, there appeared from the press of Thomas Harper, in London, a play with the following brief title-page:

*The / Valiant / Scot. / By J. W. Gent. / London, / Printed by Thomas Harper for John Waterson, and are / to be sold at his shop in Pauls Church-yard, / at the signe of the Crown, / 1637.*

The copy of this edition now in the library of the University of Pennsylvania is a quarto, seven and one-half by five and one-half inches, and consists of seventy-five pages, without notes or introduction of any kind other than the dedication. The margins are narrow at the top and where reduced on the inner edge by a modern binding, but generous on the other sides. The page numbers are not printed, but have been added with pen and ink. The printer's lettering of forms in alphabetical order occurs at the bottom of the page, a little to the right of the middle. This is consistently maintained. The first three leaves in each form are numbered, thus: B1, B2, B3. The fourth leaf is never numbered. The type is usually, though not always, clear, and misprints are not frequent. The volume is in an excellent state of preservation.

Of the career of the play upon the stage we have no present means of knowing. It does not appear to have aroused sufficient enthusiasm on the part of the public to demand a second edition.

The merits of the play, while not entitling it to present day representation on the stage, are still such as to make it worthy

of careful reading. Crude in places, and often lacking in clearness, it is never wanting in action, or in the vigorous breath of the open air. It is, in a word, just such a play as Shakespeare, a generation before, might have taken and, in the work of a day, have changed into a masterpiece. In this respect alone—as a study of what it might have been with the touch of a master—it is worth pausing over.

Of much more than the literary worth is the historical value of the present play. Students of Elizabethan drama, and indeed of all other literary fields and subjects, are recognizing more and more the necessity of having before them, as nearly as may be, the total mass of evidence. Much that would throw important light on the Elizabethan period is irrevocably lost; and in view of this fact it becomes us to preserve with especial care all that remains. There is always the possibility that, through the accumulation of apparently insignificant and unrelated details, we may find ourselves in the possession of material that will either fortify our present positions, or, by lifting us above them, enable us to see their weakness or their insufficiency. The play before us is, however, much more than just one additional isolated fragment, to be added to the list of Elizabethan reprints for the sake of approaching completeness. In comparing it with its easily accessible source, we have, as we shall presently see, an interesting study in the dramatic use of material and the adaptation of a Scottish story to the English stage. In considering the question of authorship, we have to do with two men prominent, if not in the production, at least in the dissemination of Elizabethan literature. Finally in the dialect of certain parts of the play, there is material which may be made to throw light on the question—settled in the minds of some authorities, but debatable still in the minds of others—whether the London dramatists of the Elizabethan time were really able to express in writing the speech of Ireland, Scotland, or provincial England.

## II. THE PLAY AND ITS SOURCE

The source from which the main story of the play appears to have been drawn is the *Wallace* of Henry the Minstrel. This fact is established beyond reasonable doubt by evidence both external and internal.

The first important point in the external evidence is the absence of any other probable source. No other account that has come down to us from the time when the author of the play was writing, approaches the work of Blind Harry in completeness of detail, vividness of portrayal, and popular form of presentation.

The second point is a positive corollary to the one just stated. We know that in 1637 the poem of Blind Harry was popular and easy of access. Composed probably about 1470, it had been kept alive, first by oral tradition, later by manuscript copies—one very ancient manuscript is deposited in the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh—and still later by several printed editions. The frequency of these last is sufficient evidence of the popularity of the work and its place in the literature of the time. Jamieson records no less than five editions previous to 1637, dated as follows: 1570, 1594, 1601, 1620, 1630. Dr. Mackenzie, as quoted by Jamieson, says, "This book, being highly esteem'd amongst the vulgar, has had many impressions." It may be urged, perhaps, that this popularity was Scottish, and did not extend across the border. Doubtless this is true to a large extent; we may well believe that the English would not clamor for edition after edition of a story of English cruelty and English defeat. On the other hand, whatever may be our subsequent solution of the problem of authorship, there is reason for crediting the author of this play with a more than average familiarity with the Scottish legend. If he was John Waterson, the book-seller of Paul's Church-yard, he must surely have met with at least one copy of the Scottish work. If he was the enthusiastic follower of the Marquis of Hamilton, as indicated in the dedication, he would take all the greater

pains to seek out a tradition popular north of the border. It is, then, a conclusion all but certain, that the author of *The Valiant Scot* was familiar with the work of Henry the Minstrel.

We may now turn to the internal evidence bearing on the question of source. A casual glance at the contents of Blind Harry's poem reveals evidences of parallelism: the slaying of Young Selby by Wallace, the hero's love affair at Lanark, his marriage and the murder of his wife, his visit in disguise to the English camp, his exchange of messages with Edward I, the battle of Falkirk, the treachery of Mentith, the interviews of Bruce and Wallace, the death of the latter—all these find a place in the older account.

The proof of indebtedness, however, rests upon a much stronger foundation than that of general resemblance in the material of the story. As we look more closely it becomes evident that the author of *The Valiant Scot* has purposely neglected the great mass of unrelated detail, and has applied himself closely to certain passages which were useful for his purpose. As we follow him in this we find that his indebtedness is of two kinds: (a) for considerable portions of his plot, borrowed from corresponding portions of the story as told by the minstrel, but entirely recast in phrasing and arrangement of the dramatist's own; (b) for lines borrowed, consciously or unconsciously, almost *verbatim* from the older work.

Our consideration of the first of these phases of the author's indebtedness, *i.e.*, his borrowing of incidents or suggestions for incidents, may be helped by a tabular arrangement of the passages in which the parallelism is sufficiently close to attract attention.

In the following table the references are to acts and lines in *The Valiant Scot*, and to books and lines, according to Jamieson's edition (Glasgow, 1869), in the *Wallace* of Blind Harry. The opening line of each passage is the one referred to.

<i>Incident</i>	<i>Valiant Scot.</i>	<i>Wallace</i>
Tyranny of Haselrig and Thorne	I. 1.	VI. 107.
Death of Young Selby	I. 138.	I. 203.
Haselrig in England	I. 336.	VI. 273.
Queen intercedes with Edward I	I. 353.	VI. 293.
Grimsby turns to Wallace	II. 1.	VI. 297.
Friendship of Graham and Wallace	II. 25.	VI. 273.
		X. 557, etc.
Massacre at Laverck	II. 70.	VI. 230.
	II. 121.	
Wallace's marriage	II. 50.	VI. 48.
Friar's speech	II. 53.	II. 346.
Death of Wallace's wife	II. 90.	VI. 191.
Wallace and the English heralds	II. 192.	VI. 341.
Douglas, Macbeth, and Wintersdale	II. 317.	VI. 771.
		VI. 535.
Wallace in disguise to English camp	II. 337.	VI. 435.
Wallace's hunger	III. 102.	XI. 553.
Death of Selby and Haselrig	III. 185.	VI. 230.
Battle of Falkirk, Wallace to rear	IV. 25.	X. 119.
Bruce in the English army	IV. 94.	X. 203.
Defeat of the Scotch	IV. 116.	X. 254.
Interview of Bruce and Wallace	IV. 184.	X. 439.
		X. 587.
The "blood-drinking" taunt	IV. 295.	X. 527.
Bruce refuses to fight against the Scots	V. 234.	X. 720.
Wallace's defiance to Edward I	V. 90.	VIII. 1081.
Ghosts and visions appear to Wallace	V. 144.	XI. 360.
		VII. 80.
Betrayal of Wallace	V. 194.	XI. 979.
		XI. 995.
Wallace slays Mentith	V. 321.	XI. 149.

The incidents referred to above show a wide range as to closeness of parallelism. Some are scarcely more than negative in their evidence, *i.e.*, they simply show that at this point the author of *The Valiant Scot* was not proceeding contrary to the traditions of the *Wallace*. Such is the third incident in the list. Blind Harry does not identify the messenger with Haselrig, but, speaking of Amer Wallang, says:

A man he gert sone to King Edward pas,  
And tald him haill of Wallace ordinance.

Again the arrival of Douglas, Macbeth, and Wintersdale has only a distant counterpart in the coming of Haliday and his sons, with Jarden and Kyrkpatryk, to Wallace's standard before the battle of Biggar.<sup>1</sup> The turning of Douglas to Wallace in the poem<sup>2</sup> is likewise unimportant and incidental. The importance of quoting the incident as a parallelism arises, not so much from the closeness of the parallel, as from the fact that the author of the play has here, apparently, permitted himself for once to follow the blind minstrel into a digression. The poem is full of just such incidents quite aside from the line of dramatic unity, the rehearsing by name of the supporters who flocked to Wallace being the most frequent.

Sometimes the incident as related in the old poem seems to have been taken as a suggestion by the playwright, and worked up along an entirely different line. Such is the story of Wallace's hunger. In the poem,<sup>3</sup> soon after his return from France he and his men are on the point of starving, and Wallace goes forth to provide food. Unsuccessful in the search, he sits down by the way and falls asleep. Five Englishmen approach. Wallace awakes, slays them one by one as they flee, and takes possession of the food that is being carried along for them by a boy. In the play<sup>4</sup> Wallace, ship-wrecked, asks food of an English justice and his servant, and is compelled to carry their luggage. In a brief time revolting against the situation, he announces his name and the two flee in terror while he ransacks the luggage for food. Again, there is nothing stronger than suggestiveness in several others of the incidents referred to. The friendship of Graham and Wallace is a much stronger and more important influence in the old poem, culminating in the bitter grief of the latter when the former is slain at Falkirk. In the treatment of the supernatural the author of the play is indebted to the poem for suggestion rather than for actual inci-

<sup>1</sup> *Wallace*, VI, 535.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, VI, 771.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, XI, 553.

<sup>4</sup> *The Valiant Scot*, III, 102 *ff.*

dent. The Wallace of tradition is a man of visions; he dreams of being sold to the English; but at no time do the spirits of his dead companions appear to him with definite messages. As a final example of the material lying thus in the fringes of conveyance, may be cited the killing of Mentith by Wallace with a blow of the fist. The closest parallel that we can find in the source is the account of his fight with the two champions in France.<sup>5</sup> These men, jealous of the royal favors Wallace had received, come upon him when he is unarmed, and taunt him, preparatory to dispatching him with their swords. Nothing daunted, Wallace rushes at them and slays them with his bare hands.

The real evidence of source appears, however, not in these outlying details, but in the author's use of Books VI and X of the *Wallace*. Here we find a much more consistent adherence to the original narrative. In Book VI there is the tyranny of the English commissioners as an enveloping action, the preparations of Edward for the invasion of Scotland, the defection of Grimsby, the love affair of Wallace, the massacre at Laverck, the death of Wallace's wife, the incident of the English heralds, the journey of Wallace in disguise to the English camp, and the death of Selby and Haselrig—in a word, the important material for the first three acts. Book X and small portions of Book XI furnish the matter for Act IV (the battle) and Act V (the betrayal of Wallace).

It is not to be expected that a seventeenth century dramatist, drawing from a fifteenth century narrative poem twelve thousand lines long, could do so without many changes. In the present case the playwright seems to have been actuated by two motives, the first and less important being a desire to avoid the apotheosis of Wallace and the anathematizing of England which are so strongly characteristic of the Scottish tradition; the second and more evident, an effort to select and combine incidents and characters in such a way as to produce dramatic unity.

<sup>5</sup> *Wallace*, XI, 149.

The changes made in the direction of the first of these objects are sometimes far from satisfactory. For example, in the massacre of Laverck the dramatist represents women, children, and clergy as indiscriminate sufferers with the guilty; while the chronicler, perhaps twenty times in the course of his narrative, gives assurance that the innocent never suffered from Wallace's vengeance. Perhaps a more serious slight to the memory of the hero is the nature of the closing scene. The older poem closes with the martyrdom of Wallace, a lament for him, and the assurance of his eternal bliss. The playwright minimizes the effect of this by taking up, as soon as Wallace is hurried away to trial, an action in which Bruce and King Edward are the centre of interest, as if to withdraw attention from the hero's fate. King Edward appears as the magnanimous patron. He jests mysteriously about making Bruce's head feel the weight of English displeasure, and then solves the riddle by crowning Bruce King of Scotland. The reconciliation was perhaps the happiest possible one in the days when the Stuarts were on the English throne. To the present-day reader it is not pleasant to have Bruce receive so promptly from the tyrant the crown that the dead patriot had paid blood and treasure to win for him, and had tried in vain to persuade him to take. Another attempt to balance Scottish and English enthusiasm is the elaboration of Clifford. Clifford is the one character in the play whose motives are uniformly and consistently noble, the one person who never perplexes or disappoints us. His individuality is in no way borrowed from the Minstrel, who barely mentions him, but is a careful and loving elaboration by the dramatist.

The changes for the sake of dramatic unity are worthy of careful consideration. We have clearly before us the problem that the dramatist had to solve. In the old narrative multiplicity of incident and of action ran on, limited only by the extent of the story to be told, and the exhausting of the list of traditional participants. The story as handed down is everything. In the drama all that is to be told must be brought

within bounds and related part to part. The difference is sufficient to account for changes even more remarkable than those that have taken place.

One of the best examples of change in the plot for the sake of dramatic unity is the following: In the older version, Wallace is represented as slaying Young Selby in a quarrel which grows out of the latter's taunts about a knife that the former is wearing; and the maiden with whom Wallace is in love, and whom he marries, is not the girl of Young Selby's choice, but the one that Haselrig desires in marriage for his son. The dramatist has combined the incidents, eliminated Young Haselrig, made the girl the object of the quarrel between Wallace and Young Selby, and the killing of the latter the introduction to an important train of circumstances.

The dramatic handling of events about the massacre of Laverck is less easy to understand. The poem represents the massacre as Wallace's vengeance for the killing of his wife. In the play the ambiguous action of Graham in delivering Wallace to the English is interposed before the massacre. Then the slaughter at Laverck is the blow of Wallace in return for his imprisonment; the murder of Peg, Old Wallace, and the Friar forms the English retort; and Wallace's cruelty to Sebastian and the English ambassadors is his final thrust in the duel of outrage. Perhaps the dramatist's reason for placing the smaller and less important outrage in the more important position was his feeling that, for dramatic purposes, the slaughter of one, and the maiming of two of the *dramatis personae* is a stronger vengeance than the reported killing of thousands.

The desire for dramatic unity is perfectly manifest in the management of Wallace's journey in disguise to the English camp. By Blind Harry, Wallace is represented as meeting a peddler on the way, exchanging garb with him, buying his stock of merchandise, and proceeding in the disguise. Except for a brief conversation with some soldiers as to his wares, he speaks with no one. The dramatist has put life into this scene, and used it to bind together the action. Again, in *Wal-*

*lace*, Haselrig perishes in the massacre of Laverck, while Selby disappears from the thread of the story. The playwright reserves them for one of the scenes which, like that referred to above, have no counterpart in Blind Harry, and which seem to have been purely the product of the dramatist's invention. It is perhaps needless to remark that the humorous elements in the play have no root in the grim soil of the old chronicler's domain. The one cheerful incident in the old narrative, Wallace's lovemaking, has been brought by the dramatist into the shadow of tragedy, and the dramatic relief in the play comes from quite another source, the buffoonery of Sir Jeffrey and Bolt.

We come now to the second part of the internal evidence of J. W.'s indebtedness to Blind Harry, namely, the borrowing of certain lines almost *verbatim*. The marked instances are three in number. Two of them occur within twenty-five lines of each other. In the play<sup>6</sup> the ghost of Peg appears to Wallace and says,

Alace Scotland to wham salt thou compleyne,  
Alace, fra mourning wha sall the refayne?

In the poem<sup>7</sup> are the following lines, at the beginning of the Minstrel's lament for the capture of Wallace:

Allace, Scotland, to quhom sall thow compleyn!  
Allace, fra payn wha sall the now restreyn!

Perhaps the author of the play was unconscious in his conveyance. The lines quoted from the older poem are striking enough by reason of their character and their position, to remain in the fringes of memory. If the dramatist purposely avoided following the Minstrel in the second line of the couplet, he quite unconsciously fell into another line of the old poem<sup>8</sup> speaking of the general sorrow for Graham after the battle of Falkirk:

Was na man thar fra wepyng mycht hym refreyn.

<sup>6</sup> V, 172.

<sup>7</sup> XI, 1109.

<sup>8</sup> X, 583.

The third striking verbal parallel is this: in the play, after the killing of Young Selby, Peg rushes in and, thinking that Wallace has fallen, cries,

Wa is me, ligs my luife on the cawd ground,  
Let me come kisse his frosty mouth.<sup>9</sup>

In the original the woman who confirms to Wallace the report of his uncle's death at the hands of the English says,<sup>10</sup>

His frosty mouth I kissit in that sted.

Another instance of parallel phrasing, while not so closely *verbatim*, is worthy of notice as a proof of the writer's acquaintance with the *Wallace* poem, and the characters it contains, aside from those appearing in the play. In the play<sup>11</sup> occurs the perplexing passage, spoken by Mentith to Comyn regarding their plots against the life of the patriot leader:

*Ment.* I have beside with *Wallace* sherife of life,  
Held private conference, who in Longshancks name,  
Who swears to me we shall have good preferment,  
Beside the promist gold.

(The italics are those of the 1637 edition.) The absurdity of the first line is apparent. The intention of the author is not clear, however, until we read<sup>12</sup>

And Jhon Wallang, was then schyreff off Fyff.

To summarize: The *Wallace* poem of Henry the Minstrel may be definitely regarded as the source of *The Valiant Scot* because (1) it was in 1637 the most available reservoir of material on the Scotch hero; (2) a comparison of the two works shows parallels of a nature to indicate that portions of the poem were used as a background, portions as suggestion, and portions as material for the body of the play; (3) the presence of passages parallel *verbatim* in phrasing confirms the previous evidence.

<sup>9</sup> *The Valiant Scot*, I, 246.

<sup>10</sup> *Wallace*, VII, 279.

<sup>11</sup> *The Valiant Scot*, V, 192.

<sup>12</sup> *Wallace*, XI, 891.

## II. THE QUESTION OF AUTHORSHIP

Who is the author of the play before us? The title-page proclaims one "J. W., Gent[leman]." The dedication, written to all appearances in the person of the author, is signed by William Bowyer. The publisher is John Waterson. Out of all this, what evidence can be brought to show who really wrote the play?

The problem seems never seriously to have been considered. The British Museum, in its *Catalogue of Printed Books*, credits the work to J. W. without comment, and without mention of Bowyer. Fleay, in his *Biographical Chronicle of the English Drama*, calls it the work of J. W., and queries, "Was the publisher the author?" Ward arrives at a different conclusion. In *A History of English Dramatic Literature*, he says:

William Bowyer seems to have been the author of a play called *The Valiant Scot* (printed 1637), which in the Dedication signed by him under that name he offers to the Marquis of Hamilton, as 'one amongst his meanest followers in his Lordship's practicall life of a Souldier;' 'What he has he bestows upon him.' Yet in the title-page the play announces itself as 'by J. W., Gent.'<sup>1</sup>

In none of the instances cited above has the historian offered reasons for his conclusion. It is worth while, then, for us to consider the questions involved, and the suggestions which the play itself, together with other circumstances, throws on the solution.

If we are to accept the title-page as authority, we shall be led to ask, who was J. W.? Was he the John Waterson by whom the play was published? And if J. W. wrote the work, what were his relations with William Bowyer, and William Bowyer's relations with the play, and with the Marquis of Hamilton, and why should he offer the work to a patron as if it were his own?

<sup>1</sup> I have quoted *verbatim* from Ward (ed. 1899), III, 159. He has not followed the original exactly, but has preserved the essentials.

If, on the other hand, we are persuaded by the dedication to accept the authorship of Bowyer, on what grounds can we justify our ignoring of the title-page?

It is not the hope of the present essay to arrive at a positive and definitely satisfactory solution of this problem. The best that seems possible at present is to bring together the available facts, and to set them in such order that they will give us their greatest significance.

If we take up the questions involved in the order in which we have stated them, we shall first inquire, who was J. W.? The search for a personality aside from the publisher, and bearing the same initials, does not result in anything more than material for conjecture, and that of the most hazardous kind. There is certainly no dramatist of the period whom we may call in to assume responsibility for the present play. To attempt to establish identity between any two names on the basis of fragmentary remains in widely different fields of literature, without a particle of biographical or other information as an aid, and without so much as a clue by way of introduction or hypothesis, would be an undertaking quite beyond the spirit of present-day literary exploration. If, then, the initials J. W. are to imply to us a real personality, we must connect them with the name of John Waterson.

To answer with some definiteness the question, who John Waterson was, is not difficult. Our principal sources of information are *The Catalogue of Printed Books in the British Museum*, *The Catalogue of Early Printed Books in Cambridge University Library*, and Arber's transcript of the *Stationers' Register*.

John Waterson came of a family of stationers and publishers. His parental grandfather, Richard, obtained the freedom of the Stationers' Company on December 7, 1555. While there is no record of Richard's having been a publisher, yet his career as a stationer is illuminated here and there by entries of such general interest as to warrant their insertion.

Item Receyvd the viij of Decembre [1555] of Rycharde waterson in Recompence of his brakefaste at his makyng fre . . . . .	iijs iiijd. <sup>2</sup>
John humffray Apprentes with Rycharde waterson presented the xviii Daye of april [1558] . . . . .	vjd. <sup>3</sup>
Rycharde waterson ys fyned for the lyke offence <sup>4</sup> aforesayde and also for behavyng hym selfe Dysobedyently before the Master and Wardyns . . . . .	iiijd. <sup>5</sup>
Receyvd of Rycharde Waterson for his fyne for that he Ded kepe his shoppe open on the sondayes ye xxx of auguste [1559] . . . . .	xxd. <sup>6</sup>
Receyvd of Rycharde waterson for his fyne for openyng of his shoppe upon sondayes [1560] . . . . .	vjd. <sup>7</sup>

There are entries also recording his contribution to "a collection to be gathered of the compayne by the commandement of the lorde the maiour and the Court of aldermen for the house of brydewell,"<sup>8</sup> and "to a benevolence given towarde the chargis of our hall,"<sup>9</sup> and again to the benevolence given "towarde our [In]corperation."<sup>10</sup>

Simon Waterson, the representative of the second generation, left behind him on the Register a less interesting, but more substantial and worthy record. After being admitted to the freedom of the Company August 14, 1583, apparently soon after his father's death, he lived to complete more than half a century of honorable membership, and to be twice Warden (1603 and 1610) and twice Master of the Company (1617 and 1621). He was admitted into the livery of the Company under date of July 1, 1592. The list of his publications is one of the longest and most important in the Register. In 1601 he was the representative of his Company at the Lord Mayor's feast.

The career of John Waterson overlaps considerably that of his father. Admitted to the freedom of the Company June

<sup>2</sup> Arber I, 34.

<sup>3</sup> Arber I, 74.

<sup>4</sup> Keeping shop open on festival day.

<sup>5</sup> Arber I, 94.

<sup>6</sup> Arber I, 123.

<sup>7</sup> Arber I, 158.

<sup>8</sup> Arber I, 47.

<sup>9</sup> Arber I, 49.

<sup>10</sup> Arber I, 50.

27, 1620, he did not enter his first book until some two years and a half later, January 25, 1623. The last entry of a book by Simon Waterson occurs on April 30, 1633. Further entries by John Waterson continued at intervals until November 13, 1639. His name is much less conspicuous than his father's. It does not appear that he was an important element in the Company or in the publishing trade of the city. His father had been a man who was sought by apprentices. The son does not appear on the records in this connection. His entries of books are less frequent than those of his father. It does not seem that this was due to competition on the part of the senior Waterson, for the latter has but four entries of books upon the *Register* after his son was granted the freedom of the Company, and two of these were made before the latter had availed himself at all of the privilege. It was not, however, until so late as August 19, 1635, that the father transferred to the son the rights in books standing at that time upon the *Register* in the name of the former, twenty-four works in all. How much, during these years from 1620 to 1635, the father stood in the way of the son's independent prosperity, how much his reputation served to keep business in his name and prevent it from falling into the hands of the son, what was the business relation between the two, and what the son's character as a man of affairs, it is impossible to say.

The following are the books entered by John Waterson in the *Register* of the Stationer's Company:

25 January, 1623, A sermon at the funerall of Sir Robert Buller, by master Thomas Howell.

14 April, 1626, The Staple of News. [The author is not named in the entry.]

25 November, 1626, Hymnus tobaci autore Raphaele Thorio.

10 January, 1629-30, The Crewell Brother written by William Davenant.

10 January, 1629-30, The Just Italian, by the same.

6 March, 1629-30, The muses' Elizium with three other Divine poemes, Noah's ffloud. Moses Miracles. The Combate of David and Goliah by Michaell Drayton esquire.

22 March, 1629-30, The Runegado by Philip Messenger.

19 November, 1631, The Emperor of the East. [No author named in the entry.]

16 January, 1632, The maid of Honor by Philip Massinger.

8 April, 1634, The two noble kinsmen by John Fletcher and William Shakespeare.

8 August, 1634, The Picture written by Master Messinger. [This is assigned to Waterson by Thomas Walkley.]

Upon August 19, 1635, these books were assigned by Master Simon Waterson to John Waterson:

The Christian Directory guiding all men to their salvation.

Master Samuel Daniells small Poems. viz<sup>t</sup>. Delia. The Tragedy of Cleopatra. The disention betweene the houses of Yorke and Lancaster. A Letter sent from Octavia to her husband Marcus Antonius into Egipt. and the tragedy of Philotus and the Queenes Arcadia.

Josephus in English.

Compendium Religionis by Hieronomi Zanchij.

The Preachers Plea.

Sir Philip Sidneys Arcadia.

The Remaines concerning Brittaine by W: Cambden.

Riders Dictionary.

A Comedy called Lingua.

His part of Master Perkins on the Gallathians. his treatice of christian Equity. his treatice of Mans Naturall Imaginations. his whole booke of the Cases of Conscience contayning ye first second and third booke.

Staffords Geography.

Blagraves Art of Dialling.

His part of Dent on the Revelacion.

Owens Epigrams.

His part of Polibius.

A Collection of the History of England by Samuel Daniell.

The original entries to John Waterson continue:

12 September, 1635, The femall glory or the life and death of the blessed virgin Mary &c. by Anthony Stafford gent.

29 March, 1636-7 [Entered with John Benson]. The Elder Brother written by John Fletcher.

26 April, 1637, The Valiant Scott.<sup>11</sup>

<sup>11</sup> The complete entry is as follows: *Master Waterson Entered for his Copie under the hands of Master Herbert, and Master Downes warden a Tragedy called the Valiant Scott vjd.*

22 January, 1638-9, Monsieur Thomas by master John Fletcher.

14 February, 1638-9, The unnaturall Combatt by Phillip Massinger.

13 November, 1639, The History of Annaxander and Orazia, translated out of French into English by William: Duncomb.

This is our fund of knowledge concerning John Waterson. Meagre in extent, it is almost equally barren of suggestion. There is in it nothing whatever to help us toward a knowledge of possible relations between Waterson and Bowyer, or between Waterson and the Marquis of Hamilton. Two circumstances, however, may have bearing on the question of whether the publisher tried his hand at the composition of a play. The first of these is his apparently secondary place as a man of affairs. For the purpose of forcing circumstances into a theory, it would be possible to account for Waterson's less prominent place in business, by assigning him a more prominent place as a man of letters. To do this is quite beyond our intention, and quite beyond the limits of reasonable criticism. John Waterson's inconspicuous position in the *Stationers' Register*, as we have already suggested, may be accounted for in many ways more reasonably than by leaping to the inference that he was devoting himself to dramatic composition.

The second circumstance is much more significant. It is the preponderance of plays in the works entered by John Waterson in the *Stationers' Register*. Of the sixteen books originally published by him, and entered to his credit in the *Register*, twelve are dramas. The one assignment to him aside from that made by his father, is the transfer of the rights in a play. When we compare the list of works entered by John Waterson on his own account with the list of those that he received from his father in 1635, the contrast is striking. In the latter the drama is but a minor item. Again, it is worth while to compare the business of John Waterson in this respect with the total volume of business recorded in the *Register*. Let us take the year 1630. In that year the younger Waterson entered four works, all of them plays. During the same twelve months the *Stationers' Register* shows one hundred and thirty-eight

original entries (*i.e.*, excluding transfers and assignments). Of these only fourteen are plays. There needs no further evidence to show that John Waterson made the publication of plays the especial feature of his business.

This fact is certainly worth something. While it proves nothing, it strengthens the probability that the publisher was a man interested in the drama, and so a man likely, in the intervals of business affairs, to undertake the composition of a play.

The evidence in hand does not, however, assist us in connecting Waterson with *The Valiant Scot*. That the author's name does not appear in the entry is not significant. It will be noticed that Ben Jonson's authorship of *The Staple of News* is not recorded, and the same is true of Massinger's in *The Emperor of the East*. There is no internal evidence to show that the author of *The Valiant Scot* had been influenced in any way by the plays published by Waterson, or to any extent by the authors of those plays.

At this point, then, until the appearance of new evidence, the case of Waterson as a claimant for the title of authorship must rest.

Our investigation of William Bowyer's connection with the play, and his possible connection with Waterson, is checked in the beginning by the absence of all record of the man outside the text of the dedication. His own words there describe him as "one among your [the Marquis of Hamilton's] Meanest followers." However much his modesty may have exaggerated the matter, his position was evidently not such as to admit him to the concourse of earls, archbishops, and royalty who throng the pages of Burnet's *Memoirs of the Hamiltons*. There was a "Will: Bowyer, Knight," admitted to the degree of Master of Arts<sup>12</sup> at Oxford under date of August 30, 1605, on the occasion of the King's visit to the University, but that he was the writer of this dedication there is no shadow of proof. It is quite impossible, therefore, to suggest any reason for Bowyer's be-

<sup>12</sup> Wood: *Fasti Oxonienses*, I, 315.

coming sponsor for a play of Waterson's, or for his claiming it for his own. The dedication itself, it will be noticed, is colorless as to the writer's intention to appear as the author of the play. He writes, "What I have I bestow upon you." There is nothing of an author's natural anxiety for the product of his own pen, nothing of expectant waiting for favorable criticism. The note of dedication might equally have accompanied the gift of a vase from a London potter's, decorated with a representation of Wallace in victory. The oftener one reads the words of dedication, the more strongly does one feel that they speak of a piece of merchandise, and not of the dedicator's own work.

A stronger suggestion of Bowyer's possible authorship of the play lies in the military flavor of the scenes and the action. The prevalence of fencing terms, brought sometimes without necessity into the dialogue as if the speech of the camp were the source to which the writer turned naturally for a simile or a jest, adds to this effect. There is the breath of out-of-doors in the pages. This bespeaks the soldier rather than the publisher as the man who wrote it. And yet the fallibility of any reasoning that fails to take into account an author's ability to project himself completely into a new experience is so patent that the argument set forth above must be pursued with the utmost caution.

Waterson's claim, then, rests upon: first, the title-page, a strong presumption; second, his apparent disinclination to business enterprise, a distant inference; third, his evident interest in the drama, or his belief in it as a commercial commodity, a point of considerable significance. Bowyer's case is built upon: first, the text of the dedication, a foundation which appears weaker under examination; second, the military spirit of the play, a piece of evidence which it is easy to emphasize too strongly.

Therefore, until more definite evidence is discovered, the authorship of our play must remain an unsolved problem.

## IV. THE PRINTER

Thomas Harper, from whose press *The Valiant Scot* was issued, was one of the most important of the London printers and publishers of his time. For our knowledge of him we are indebted to Arber. He was the "son of William Harper, of Woolzaston in the county of Salop, minister." He was apprenticed, on July 25, 1604, to Melchisedek Bradwood, for a period of seven years from the Michaelmas (*i.e.*, September 29) following. Whether the boy's father chose the master for his skill in printing or for his delightfully ecclesiastical name, the *Register* does not pause to remark. One month after the expiration of his term of service Harper obtained the freedom of the Stationers' Company. His first entry of a book was formally recorded on July 2, 1614, and his last on September 9, 1640. During the intervening years his name appears in connection with thirty-four original entries, besides several transfers. In 1627 he was one of the three representatives of the Stationers' Company at the Lord Mayor's feast.

Harper's path to recognition among the master printers of his time was not easy. It will be recalled that the number of master printers that might practise their trade in London was limited by statute, usually to twenty or twenty-two. The eagerness with which men sought, by purchase or even by marriage, to become members of the favored group is interestingly told by Mr. Arber in the introduction to Volume V of his reprint of the *Stationers' Register*. The printing business to which Harper succeeded had been established at least as early as 1577 by Thomas East (Este). About 1608 East left it to Thomas Snodham, whose executors, probably about 1625, sold it to George Wood and his partner, one Lee, whose Christian name has been lost. From these two men the business passed into the hand of Harper. Somewhere there had crept into the transfers a flaw in the title to the rights of a master printer. Arber<sup>1</sup> quotes from *State Papers, Charles I*, Vol. 307, Art. 86—

<sup>1</sup> Vol. III, p. 701.

the record was probably made in the autumn of 1635—as follows:

Master Thomas Harper succeeded Thomas Snodham about 6 yeeres since never admitted as I beleieve: (wood had him in ye [courts of] Requests and Chauncery) wood claimeth such.

The position of Harper was settled in 1637, when his name was duly included in the list of master printers authorized by the decree of the Council of Star Chamber.

The uncertainty of his case previous to that year does not seem seriously to have interfered with his business. Between 1634 and 1640 he printed books for at least twenty-six different publishing houses. Eighty-three works that were issued from his press during those years are preserved in the Library of Cambridge University.

#### V. LITERARY AFFILIATIONS OF THE PLAY

It is important to consider the position of the present play with reference to the dramatic literature of its time. It belongs obviously in the group of chronicle plays. The real question concerns its place in the group.

It will be remembered that the high tide of chronicle drama had occurred in the decade from 1590 to 1600, forty years or more before the time of *The Valiant Scot*. From 1600 to the end of the reign of James I, the ebb had been constant. Of the plays that have come down to us from the first seven years of the reign of Charles I, not one is of this class. In 1633 the long inactivity was broken by the appearance of Ford's *Perkin Warbeck*, a conscious and remarkable effort to bring the chronicle play back to the position that it had held more than a generation before. In the same year appeared Heywood's *Royal King and Loyal Subject*, and, three years later, Chapman's *Alphon-sus of Germany* and Carliell's *Arviragus and Philicia* were added to the nearly completed list. *The Valiant Scot* (1637) is the last extant chronicle play written before the closing of the theatres.

In these five plays, the scanty product of as many years, it is not to be supposed that we have material for any extensive or valuable generalizations. The literature is too scanty, the impetus too weak, to give us any marked tendency. The products of these closing years of the chronicle play are essentially desultory and sporadic. Not one of the other plays approaches the standard set by Ford. The three that follow *Perkin Warbeck* are really not English. The *Royal King and Loyal Subject* is entirely devoid of local setting and spirit; the *Alphonsus of Germany* has only a few characters from English history; and the *Arviragus and Philicia* has only a very distant connection with British and early Saxon tradition.

While thus departing in certain essential qualities from the type of the earlier English chronicle play, the works of these years show, here and there, a tendency toward the heroic drama, a form already suggested in John Fletcher's *Philaster*, and which was about to rise into greater importance with Davenant, Orrery, and Dryden. In the *Royal King*, and in *Alphonsus*, this tendency scarcely extends beyond the removal to extra-historical setting. There are exaggerated types of character, to be sure, but they are not of the sustained, consciously and purposely enlarged form that belong to the heroic drama. In *Arviragus and Philicia* the marks of the heroic, although lessened in effect by the prose form of the dialogue, are more pronounced. There is the element of casuistry, amounting at times almost to tediousness; there is the conflict of love and honor, appearing at every turn, each time in some new form or under new conditions; there are paragons of bravery, loyalty, honor, and female devotion.

Compared with the plays of which we have just been speaking, *The Valiant Scot* is a decided reversion to the earlier type of chronicle play. Nowhere, perhaps, is there more abundant source of incident for drama upon an exaggerated scale than in the *Wallace* of Blind Harry. While there is little connected story, and less dramatic force in sustained action, there is abundance of incident, with Wallace, the equal of twenty

men, towering in the midst of the conflict, to tempt the man who handles it to indulge in the exaggerations of the heroic style. But the writer was not enticed by the material. Whether a fear of painting the Scottish hero in too attractive a guise—a matter to which we refer elsewhere—or a desire to portray soldier life in England and Scotland in its reality, or an artistic preference for the older form of the chronicle play and a distaste for the heroic—whether one or all of these influences restrained the author, it is impossible to say. At all events he followed closely, for the most part, the historic tradition, and in his use of it and in his additions gave us a play that is strongly vernacular in style, and clearly national in setting—more English than Scotch, perhaps, but never foreign to the United Kingdom. It is typical of the national spirit, moreover, even to the extent of trying to harmonize the patriotism of both sides of the border, to make Scotchmen proud of their national heroes, and equally proud of the fact that they are, by adoption, compatriots with Clifford and Royal Edward.

#### VI. DIALECT IN *The Valiant Scot*

Another interesting question in connection with the present play is suggested by the passages in dialect. It has been affirmed by some authorities that no writer of Elizabethan drama expressed accurately the provincial forms of speech. Others dissent from this opinion. What evidence does the present play contribute upon this point? Does it appear that the author knew Scottish dialect? And if so, was he careful to write the language as it was spoken?

As preliminary to a discussion of this point, it may be well to recall the conditions of the time. It will be remembered that in the early seventeenth century London was, fully as much as at present, the centre of the English world. The life that gathered there was quite as cosmopolitan as is that of the present day. The portion of that life contributed by England, Scotland, and Ireland must certainly in those days have ex-

hibited a greater and more picturesque variety than is to be found in the London residents or visitors from these several districts of the United Kingdom at present. The habits and fashions of the metropolis did not spread throughout the country with modern rapidity. The rural districts and provincial cities must have retained much more of their local flavor than now. In proportion as the men who came up to London brought with them the manners and speech of their home districts, the life of the capital was enriched with a greater variety of English, Scottish, and Irish coloring than at the present time, when the leveling up in dress, manners, and speech goes on more rapidly and more completely. If to the Londoner of today the dialects of Kent, Cornwall, and Yorkshire, of north and south Ireland, are familiar at first hand, still more so must they have been in the days of the early Stuarts.

If the author of our play was William Bowyer, the follower of the Marquis of Hamilton, he was of course familiar with Scottish speech. If he was John Waterson, the London publisher, his opportunities for hearing the dialect of the Scotch side of the border were only a little less frequent. Probably not a day passed that he did not listen to some form of it in his shop "at the Signe of the Crown."

There is a marked difference, however, between the ability on the one hand to understand a dialect, to assign it to its proper locality, and even to appreciate the delicate shades of meaning that its words and phrases may involve, and the ability on the other hand to write that dialect with sufficient precision to make it recognisable to the reader. The difficulty of the process was increased in no inconsiderable degree for the writer who lived in the age of James, when, although the artless spelling of earlier times had passed away, and the writing of dialect had become essentially a conscious process, still the spelling and pronunciation of the standard language had not yet crystallized, and when, needless to add, philological considerations were, of all thoughts in the world, most remote from the mind of the dramatist.

In view of these conditions, one might almost venture to predict, with the volumes unopened, the nature of passages of dialect in the drama of Elizabethan and early Stuart times. There is to be expected, in general, the evidence of ready familiarity with the commonplaces of contemporary dialect, but a lack of care or of knowledge in the more unusual phrases and the more delicate shades of meaning.

The evidence of the play itself goes to show that the author of *The Valiant Scot* had a passing acquaintance at least with the Scottish dialect. He had a considerable vocabulary of words that would be recognized as Scotch anywhere and at any time since the anglicised speech succeeded the Gaelic. These are sufficiently evident in the text, and need no comment.

When we come to examine the dialectal passages more closely, however, we find evidence that he was not completely familiar with the speech he was essaying to write, or, if familiar with it, that he was careless in committing its sounds to writing. The most important cases that claim attention in this connection are the following:

First, there is apparent uncertainty as to the function and place of certain Scottish sounds. For example, the author seems to have recognized the sound of French *u* as a characteristic note of Scottish speech, but he has made it serve an indiscriminate variety of purposes, quite beyond its real function. The following examples show this unscientific variety: *above* appears as *abuife*; *love* as *luife*; *gives* as *guifes*; *suck* as *suike*; *looked* as *luicked*; *look* as *luke*; *if* as *guiff*, *gif*. Similarly the author seems to have cast about in no little confusion for a spelling to represent in Scottish dialect the sound of English *i* as in *like*. The result is a series of spellings that no writer on dialect has ever set down as Scotch. Thus for *fly* we have two forms, *flay* riming with *play*, and *fie*; English *fie* appears as *fay*; *why* as *whay*; *sly* as *slay*; *hide* as *hayd*; *wife* as *waife*, varying with *wife*; *dying* as *daying*; *my* as *may*, varying with *my*; *life* as *laife*, varying with *life*; *white* as *whayte*. There is no uniformity, for we have likewise in dialectal passages the usual

spellings *sire*, *sides*, *riders*, *wine*, *blind*, *tied*, *wife*, *tyles* (for *tiles*), *find*, *mine*.

The points of confusion just noted are not unnatural, however. They might readily appear on paper as the legitimate effort of a writer to express a shade of sound that had not yet found its way into general spelling of dialect. No less a student of Scottish word music than Burns tried several spellings in pursuit of the elusive French *u* sound, represented in many Scotch words by *ui*. That the present playwright employed this sound in places where it did not belong shows at least that he was familiar with its frequency in the language.

It is much more difficult to bring within the compass of rule his use of the suffix *-and*. It appears as the ending of no less than five tense forms, as follows: *beseekand* (present indicative); *luifand* (present participle); *luifand* (present indicative); *misusand* (imperfect indicative); *playeand* (present participle); *liggand* (present participle); *gangand* (past participle); *standand* (present participle); *dingand* (infinitive). It is hard to believe that any man who wrote dialect in this fashion really cared, if he so much as knew, anything about the grammar of the dialect he was dealing with. With all liberal allowance for errors of the printer, the presumption is still strong that these words were sprinkled through the speech with the indefinite idea of creating a flavor, possibly Scotch, certainly grotesque.

A second evidence of the writer's imperfect familiarity with Scotch is the presence of various dialectal forms of the same word: For *should* there is *shild* (1 per. sing.); *suld* (2 per. plu.); *sud* (3 per. sing. and 2 per. plu.); *sulled* (2 per. plu.). For *say* there is *sea* (2 per. sing.); *sa* (2 per. sing.); *senu* (2 per. plu.; this occurs twice, and may be a misprint); *sen* (2 per. plu.); *senn* (2 per. plu.). For *if* we have *giffe*, *guiff*, *gif*; for *work*, *warcke*, *weark*; for *more*, *meare*, *mare*; for *from*, *fra*, *fray*. These differences are not to be accounted for on the supposition that he assigns peculiarities of dialect to certain individuals. The interchanges occur—within the dialect-speaking group, *i.e.*,

Wallace, Peg, and the Friar—quite irrespective of the person speaking.

Third, there is the intermingling of English and dialectal forms in speeches supposed to be entirely dialectal. In other words, dialect is not consistently maintained. For example, we have *say* as well as the dialectal forms *sea*, *sa*, *sen*, *senn*, *senu*; *your* as well as *yare*; *face* as well as *feace*; *shall* as well as *sall*; *my* as well as *may*; *-ing* as well as *-and*; *old* as well as *awd*; *wife* as well as *waife*; *life* as well as *laife*.

Fourth, there is a sprinkling of dialectal words familiar, no doubt, to the London of 1637, but not Scotch; as, *lidging* (Irish); *drae* (Lancaster); *seafe* (Cumberland, Westmoreland, and North Lancaster); *thase* (Oxford).

Fifth, in a few cases the improvised dialectal form, while Scottish in sound, has not in Scotch the meaning assigned to it, but one quite different; as, *yare* (used for *your*) is a Scotch word for *ready*, *alert*; *aid* (misprint?) is Scotch for *gutter*; *laife* (used for *life*) is the well known Scotch word for *loaf*.

This, then, is the evidence of the present text on the question of dialect. It corresponds with the historical evidence of the times, and gives us additional reason to believe that with the early seventeenth century dramatists the writing of dialect was not at all a serious effort to represent provincial speech with scientific accuracy.

## VII. THE PLAY IN RELATION TO HISTORY

The present play is so far removed from close adherence to historic facts, that a very brief review of the historic setting in which the action lies will be sufficient.

The burning of Lanark by Wallace and a small band of his devoted followers occurred in May, 1297. Scottish tradition makes the act Wallace's revenge for the death of his sweetheart, but modern historians are not united in this view.

In June, 1298, the English army under Percy and Clifford invaded Scotland. The battle of the play is more nearly that

of Falkirk, which was fought in July, 1298, than any other. It is in connection with this battle that we have the tradition of a quarrel over the right of leadership, a quarrel which resulted in the defeat of the Scottish army.

Of Wallace's journey to France, Mackay<sup>1</sup> says: "The statement of Blind Harry, which has been doubted, that he [Wallace] went to France to the court of Philip le Bel, probably in the following year, 1299, has been confirmed by documentary evidence; but the minstrel has himself to blame for the doubt, by duplicating it and making the first visit prior to the battle of Falkirk, and apparently after that of Stirling, a point in Wallace's life when there was neither time nor occasion for such a visit." There is a tradition that Wallace went even to Rome to support the cause of Baliol with the Pope, but it lacks confirmation. On the other hand, the absence of all record of Wallace in Scotland from 1299 to 1303 makes it impossible to disprove the rumor.

The chroniclers are generally agreed as to the treacherous means employed by the English in the capture of Wallace, and as to Sir John de Menteith's part in the infamous proceeding. The date is 1305. Wyntoun, in 1418, set down Glasgow as the scene of the capture.

The conduct of Bruce during this period warrants the uncertain character which the dramatist ascribes to him. The reason for his unwillingness to coöperate with Wallace lies chiefly in the fact that the latter was proclaiming himself the representative of Baliol and his cause. During the years in which the action of the play seems to be located, the chronology of Bruce's shifts of attitude is a lamentable story of fluctuation. In 1296 he swore allegiance to Edward I, inspired, no doubt, by their common enmity to Baliol. In 1297 Bruce, with many other Scots, refused to follow Edward to Flanders in excess of legal obligation, joined the revolt of Wallace, and did vigorous work against the English. In July of the same year, at the "capit-

<sup>1</sup> For a summary of the facts and traditions concerning the lives of Wallace and Bruce, with bibliographies, see Mackay's articles in the *Dictionary of National Biography*.

ulation of Irvine," he received forgiveness, and again espoused the English cause. In 1298 he was back, for a short time, on the Scottish side. From that year, however, until 1304, he held aloof from active participation in the affairs of either side. The execution of Wallace occurred in 1305. The brilliant and patriotic part of Bruce's career began after the death of Wallace, and lies outside the limits of the play.

### VIII. TIME INTERVAL OF THE PLAY

While it is not possible to determine the time interval of the play with mathematical exactness, the breaks in its continuity are really but two in number. The action as far as I, 256, may be supposed to proceed without appreciable pause. Between 256 and 257 there must elapse sufficient time for Haselrig to make the journey to England; and between 387 and 388, sufficient time for his return and for the coming of the English army. From 388 the act moves immediately to its conclusion. The second act follows at once upon the first, and runs its course without interruption.

Between Acts II and III there is evidently a considerable lapse of time. What has been the course of the wrecked vessel, and of Wallace's movements? The remark of Jeffrey<sup>1</sup> "The seas have crossed them that sought to cross the seas," and again about the chest,<sup>2</sup> "and 'twas going out of the land," may be taken to mean that the ship was just departing. On the other hand, the first of these speeches may indicate simply the failure to reach port, and the second may refer to the work of a strong ebb tide. Wallace's hunger and exhaustion point to a prolonged struggle with the storm. The change in Selby's and Haselrig's condition, from power to poverty, and the banishment from England of which the former speaks, incline one to believe that an interval of several months has elapsed since the close of Act II. It is not improbable that the author had

<sup>1</sup> *The Valiant Scot*, III, 12.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, III, 34.

in mind the return of Wallace from France. Blind Harry, in his description of Wallace's return, makes no mention of a storm, but he tells of Wallace's suffering from lack of food soon after his arrival.<sup>3</sup>

From the beginning of Act III the play proceeds without perceptible break to the conclusion. The meeting of Wallace and Bruce is about two hours after the battle, perhaps by night, and the capture and condemnation of the hero follow immediately.

<sup>3</sup> *Wallace*, XI, 553.

## SIR RALPH FREEMAN'S *IMPERIALE*

CHARLES CLAYTON GUMM

### I. BIOGRAPHICAL DATA CONCERNING SIR RALPH FREEMAN

In every age there are a few writers to whom all the excellencies are attributed. These men are writers of great genius, and deserve the universal homage which they receive. But it is often forgotten that others have done excellently well, and that they too deserve the recognition which justly belongs to merit. That the author of *Imperiale* belongs to this latter class there can be no doubt. He has not produced a tragedy of transcendent worth, to be sure; and yet that his play stands above mediocrity a running glance will show. Certainly it deserves a better fate than the total neglect which it has received at the hands of critics and literary historians. Neither the author nor the play appear in any modern work excepting the *Dictionary of National Biography*, which contains a brief but erroneous account of the author and his play.

The exact time of Sir Ralph Freeman's birth can not be ascertained, nor can that of his death. The various conjectures which have been made rest on no authentic facts nor, it seems, do they follow from any warranted premises. Greg assigns his birth to about 1590 and his death to 1655.<sup>1</sup> This latter date is obviously wrong; for he was alive, as we shall see, on March 22, 1665. The other assignments by Bates and Godfrey,<sup>2</sup> which place his life between 1610 and 1655, and by the *Dictionary of National Biography*, which says "he was still alive in 1663," are equally inaccurate.

Treatment of the biography of Freeman is made difficult, nay impossible, by the absence of all evidence concerning his

<sup>1</sup> *List of English Plays.*

<sup>2</sup> *The English Drama, A Working Basis.*

personal and moral traits. The facts which we have are those appertaining to his public life, and only inferentially to his habits and character. The difficulty is enhanced by the existence of another Ralph Freeman who was engaged in public life and who likewise diverted himself by writing verse.<sup>3</sup> It will be our first duty, then, to disentangle the activities of these two men and reconstruct their family relationship.

Ralph Freeman, the lord mayor, was born in the year 1560. He first appears in the interrogatories for an examination before the ecclesiastical commission April 13, 1581. His career began early; for by the year 1599 he was doing a thriving business on Colewart Street. In 1622 this Freeman was elected alderman, and in the same year was made governor of the Merchants of Muscovy. The following year he became sheriff of London. His mercantile success must have been extraordinary, for he offered in the same year, 1623, to advance the king the sum of £55,000. The next five years are taken up in matters pertaining to the business of the Muscovy Company. His public positions can better be discussed later. Sometime shortly before November 6, 1633, he was made lord mayor of London. He died at his home near the Royal Exchange, London, March 16, 1634.<sup>4</sup>

Nichols says that Ralph Freeman, the lord mayor, was knighted September 15, 1617.<sup>5</sup> But in another place he quotes Chauncey's *History of Hertfordshire*: "The Civic Magistrate [Ralph Freeman] does not appear to have been knighted; and

<sup>3</sup> The British Museum Catalogue attributes *Epicedion in R . . . Freemanum [R]eipublicae Londinensis Praetorum* to Sir Ralph Freeman. This refers to Ralph Freeman, the lord mayor, as is seen by the following entry in the *Stationers' Register* April 8, 1634, Vol. IV, p. 291. "Entered for his copy under the hands of master weets and Master Aspley warden an Elegy upon the death of the right honorable Ra[ll]ph freeman late Lord Mayor of the City of London."

<sup>4</sup> *Rolls Series, Domestic*, 1633-4, p. 276, 383, 514; 1580-1625, p. 41; 1598-1601, p. 250; 1611-18, p. 280; 1623-25, p. 125, 384; 1628-29, p. 280; 1625-26, p. 452; 1626-27, p. 60; 1628-29, p. 296, 305, 307, 349; 1631-33, p. 218, 136; 1633-4, p. 195, 236, 276, 293, 464; 1634-5, p. 7, 248; 1637, p. 134; 1626-49, p. 677. Nichols, *Progresses of James*: Vol. III, p. 437; Vol. IV, p. 765-66.

<sup>5</sup> *Progresses of James*, Vol. III, 437.

from that it might be presumed that he declined the honour, but it was usual for the Lord Mayor to go to Court on purpose to receive it about the month of May or June; Mr. Freeman died before that period in his Mayoralty; and we find that his successor, Sir Thomas Maulston, was knighted at Greenwich June 1, 1634.<sup>6</sup>

It is reasonable to suppose Chauncey is right. Had the lord mayor been knighted, some reference to him as "Sir" would have been made either during Freeman's life time or after his death, but no such reference has been found. Hence from the date of knighting, the two men of the same name and similar interests can be distinguished.

Closely associated with these two in the entries upon the *Rolls* is one William Freeman. He and Ralph Freeman offer, November 15, 1596, to provide His Majesty with 3,000 quarters of grain at 33 s. and 4 d. per quarter.

This Ralph Freeman is the lord mayor; for it would be too early for a man to be in business who was to live till the year 1665. On December 17, 1608, William and Ralph Freeman and Adrian Moore received for five years the office for the pre-emption and transportation of tin, which was extended at the expiration of the term seven and one-half years. This Ralph Freeman is again the lord mayor. There seems to be no reason for the statement in the *Dictionary of National Biography* that Sir Ralph Freeman held this latter office, and especially so since the possession of the office is attributed to the influence of Buckingham, into whose family Freeman married. No evidence has been found that shows the influence of Buckingham till the year 1618, at which time Sir Ralph succeeds Naunton as master of the requests.<sup>7</sup>

The conjecture of the *Dictionary of National Biography* that Sir Ralph Freeman was "probably the son of Martin Freeman" seems probable.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, Vol. IV, p. 945 note.

<sup>7</sup> *Rolls Series, Domestic*, 1595-97, p. 307; 1603-10, p. 475; 1611-18, p. 197, 511.

Martin is connected with William Freeman in business as is shown by the entry February 12, 1612, which records a grant made to them jointly of a certain tract of land to the value of £43 0 s. 3 d. per annum. On November 4, 1619, there is a very significant entry which declares a covenant between the king and one Richard Paules and Stephen Harvey on behalf of Elizabeth and Sir Ralph Freeman, executors of the late Martin Freeman, indemnifying the latter against any loss respecting certain alum works. This is the strongest fact in support of the father and son relationship. There are other entries which may be mentioned briefly. Certain messuages to the value of £13 0 s. 4 d. per annum were granted to him December 8, 1604, and in 1607 the site or lordship of the Hospital of St. Johns of Jerusalem was sold to him. On December 21, 1608, he joined his brothers, Ralph and William, in the office of farmers of tin. A warrant was issued September 29, 1609, to pay Martin Freeman and others, the contractors for the land of the king's free gift, for the advance of large sums of money: this company the next year received from the king lands in fee simple to the amount of £50,000. He with four others received, July 27, 1613, a grant of all the customs and subsidies in Ireland for nine years. The last entry shows him to be a member of a company of £3,000 annual income. He died shortly before November 4, 1619.<sup>8</sup>

The inference from the foregoing is that Ralph, the lord mayor, Martin, the father of Sir Ralph, and William Freeman were brothers. Sir Ralph inherited the large estate of his uncle, Ralph Freeman, and the wealth of his father, which certainly must have made him a very rich man.

Sir Ralph, the author of *Imperiale*, entered public life in 1618 as one of the masters of requests in ordinary, and from this time on his public career with a few pauses is continuous. This office, which Freeman continued to hold during his life time, was an important one until the statute 16 Charles I mate-

<sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, 1547-80, p. 550; 1603-10, pp. 17, 56, 476, 545, 637; 1611-18, p. 120; 1619-23, p. 90.

rially curtailed its powers. There are reasons, however, for believing that he was at no time its most prominent master.<sup>9</sup>

In 1619 he was made a member of a commission for the purpose of insuring the observance of the late proclamation concerning the manufacture of starch and the reformation of its abuses. A few years later, January, 1622, he received a grant in reversion of one of the auditorships of the imprests in the exchequer, succeeding Sir Francis Gafton and Richard Sutton, and about this same time he received also a reversion of one of the auditorships of the mint, succeeding Sir Thomas Gafton and Henry Stanley. This latter office he held with a few interruptions up to the time of his death, and was from the first its most efficient auditor.<sup>10</sup>

With his appointment in the following year, 1623, as one of the commissioners of the king's house begins a close relationship with Charles I. The many small offices of honor that were delegated to him indicate the personal regard in which he was held by the king; and other significant evidences of royal confidence in him appear, as when, for example, a certain man was pardoned of a crime "because Sir Ralph Freeman affirms the king pities the poor fellow;" and when at another time General Geath wrote Secretary Conway, "Sir Ralph Freeman constantly affirms His Majesty's gracious resolution for William Robinson, and hopes for the pardon in justification of his own reputation."<sup>11</sup>

At this time Freeman was wealthy enough to be regarded as a likely candidate for the provostship of Eton College. The Countess of Bedford in a letter to Chamberlain says: "Sir William Beecher is not likely to succeed Thomas Murray as Provost of Eton, but Freeman, a Master of Requests and an ally of Buckingham. I can't tell how to advise Carleton about it, since in these days 'those that are nearest the well-head know not with what bucket to draw' for themselves or his friends."

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, 1611-18, pp. 511, 514.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, 1619-23, pp. 53, 335.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid.*, 1619-23, p. 469; 1623-25, pp. 273, 279.

Freeman apparently had little hopes of getting the provostship; for about the same time he petitioned Buckingham to succeed Sir Henry Wotton at Venice, if the latter should be promoted to the provostship of Eton, and that his place, the mastership of requests, should be granted to Sir Albert Norton. He was disappointed in both his ambitions, yet surely not daunted, for the next year he was a strong candidate for a place of even greater honor, the mastership of the rolls. January 3, 1624, Chamberlain writes Carleton:—"Sir Henry Wotton is said to be the Provost of Eton, and has resigned his mastership of the Rolls to Sir Ralph Freeman, who has resigned his mastership of Requests to Sir William Beecher." That Freeman became master of the rolls is untrue; for as we shall presently see, he was again an applicant a year later.<sup>12</sup>

In the year 1627 we find the two Ralph Freemans holding commissions for the sale of perishable goods and the disposition of ships under one hundred tons burden, and another with the power to examine persons suspected of having embezzled goods taken at sea from the subjects of France.<sup>13</sup> The next few years are taken up with a quarrel with Sir Giles Mompeson concerning the office of the imprests and with petitions for the presentations of livings. The precise nature of the difference is unknown, yet it is evident that the dispute was of considerable violence. The matter was adjusted by Buckingham, who made the award, it seems, against Freeman. The memorials for the presentation of livings are two in number, one for the living of Ickerton, and the other for the living of Tilihurst, for which Bishop Bowle was a suitor.<sup>14</sup>

By 1633 Freeman was a man of substantial wealth, as is evidenced by the indebtedness of £2,080 to him by the Earl of Northampton and others. The income derived from his offices could not have been very considerable, for the most remunera-

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, 1623-25, pp. 70, 156; 1619-23, p. 569.

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, 1626-27, p. 53; 1627-28, p. 181; 1625-49, p. 215.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*, 1628-29, p. 341; 1629-31, p. 130; 1626-27, p. 53. There was another Ralph Freeman in Hertfordshire at this time. No clue to his family connections has appeared.

tive, that of master worker of the mint, paid him but £500 a year. Yet the financial side of the situation must have been of little consequence to him, in view of the facts that his father at death was a member of a company, the income of which was £3000 a year, and that his uncle, the lord mayor, settled his entire estate upon the nephew, which must have been very large, judging from the gifts of £1000 to the poor of Northampton and £2500 to the Clothworkers Company of London.<sup>15</sup>

The following year, 1634, Freeman, with two others, was appointed to the office of searchers and sealers of all foreign hops imported into England. This was followed by another commission, 1635, for the purpose of enforcing the late proclamations concerning the regulation of the business of gold and silver thread. The mint in King James's time, the *Rolls* record, was very profitable, but of late little revenue had been derived from it; "so Sir Thomas Aylesbury and Sir Ralph Freeman undertake what offers they will make for the king's benefit: they have compounded with Cranfield for his patent." His continuance in the office of master worker of the mint was probably broken from 1632 to 1635, during which period Sir Robert Harby is spoken of as master worker; but after this Freeman and Aylesbury held the office till the Rebellion.<sup>16</sup>

The next four years Freeman was busied with the reclamation of land, the making of awards concerning the petition of the poor-home workmen, and the performance of his duties as master of the requests. But in the year 1639 he again appears as a candidate for the office of master of the rolls, and he must have bid fair for the honor, judging from a letter written, March 28, by George Garrard to Viscount Conway: "The Master of the Rolls is dead. A man unthought of, and a very ass is [now] Master of the Rolls, Sir Charles Caesar, a doctor of the civil law, son of Sir Julius. He was the very anvil on which doctors of law of his society played, and was jeered by

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, 1633-34, p. 57; 1641-43, p. 487; 1637, p. 139. Nichols, *Progresses of James*, III, p. 437.

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, 1634-5, p. 248; 1635, pp. 178, 18; 1636-37, p. 445; 1631-33, p. 490.

them all, and I believe the common lawyers will quickly find him out, and not spare him one whit. Sir Ed[ward] Leech was to give £13,000 for the place, £7,000 presently, and £6,000 in May; it passed the king's hand for him, and was left with the Lord Treasurer until he paid in the money, which stop raised new competitors. Sir Thomas Hatton, from my Lady Hatton, offered her house presently to the king and money to boot, so he might be Master of the Rolls. Lord French would have had it, and would have brought in a sergeant, one Reeves, who should have given £14,000 for his place in the Common Pleas. Sir Ralph Freeman also offered fair, but this wood-cock, Sir Charles Caesar, has outwitted them all—£15,000 for the place, whereof 10,000 presently to go to York, so God give him joy of his place." In consideration of the esteem in which this office was held the disappointment must have been very keen—the defeat being due to wealth alone.<sup>17</sup>

During this same year we find two complaints recorded, one against him and the other by him. He is complained of by one Hugh Morrel, who says his petition has been thrust back for fourteen years by Sir Ralph Freeman for his own ends. Freeman himself complains to Charles I of the annulment of a grant of the several impositions on sea coal from Newcastle which was made to him June 20, 1639, with the promise not to recover the same and to compensate for any damage therein by act of parliament. The answer to the complaint is not recorded. Possibly the Puritans were reminding his Majesty of other things.<sup>18</sup>

The absence of entries for the ensuing seven years is explained by a statement in a petition by Freeman in 1661 for the office as commissioner of excise. The entry reads: "He said he served the late king in England, Ireland, and Scilly Isles; was carried to Portsmouth and threatened with execution; was released by the Articles of Scilly; but again forced to fly the Kingdom for joining His Majesty at Worcester." These facts

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*, 1637, pp. 189, 139; 1638-39, pp. 289, 623.

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, 1641-43, pp. 50, 51; 1660-61, p. 386.

are sufficient to furnish the imagination with food for flight, but we need here be reminded only of his loyalty to the king and the hardships which he endured for the cause.<sup>19</sup>

On October 1, 1646, Freeman petitioned the Government to be allowed to compound on the Oxford Articles for delinquency in assisting the late king. The petition was granted, and he, being a master of the requests, was officially attended from his home in East Betchwood, Surrey, to Oxford. This was the first of seven distinct fines purposed by the Puritan Government. The sequestration of his estate was suspended January, 1648; on payment of half his fines, but on March 8 additional ones were laid. His fines were all paid and the sequestration was discharged on May 3 of this year.<sup>20</sup>

At this time the name of the son of Freeman appears in a warrant that permits him to remain at his father's house by giving £1000 bond to appear before the House of Commons within six weeks and to do nothing thereafter to the disservice of parliament.<sup>21</sup>

The estate of Freeman was discharged in full the second time June 6, 1650. At this time the old lease of the coal farm at Newcastle was surrendered and a new one was granted to him and others, who borrowed on security £20,000 which was to be paid out of the profits of the lease. This promise of peace, however, was not to be permanent, for in August, 1655, a warrant was issued by the Protector and Council to Freeman that he should come to London and stay a month, the late proclamation notwithstanding. He does not seem to have given the new government further anxiety.<sup>22</sup>

On the return of the Stuarts to the throne Freeman petitioned to be restored to the offices from which he had been ousted. His petition was granted, for in the following year, 1661, he appointed one William Boyle chief refiner and worker

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, 1661-62, p. 222.

<sup>20</sup> *Committee for Compounding*, 1643-60, part II, p. 1522.

<sup>21</sup> *Rolls Series, Domestic*, 1648-49, p. 312.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, 1655, p. 594; 1656-57, p. 584. *Committee for Compounding*, part III, p. 2261.

in the mint. He petitioned next that he be reimbursed for the damages sustained to his coal interests at Newcastle during the rebellion; and with one other for the restitution of the office of commissioner of excise his petitions end.<sup>23</sup>

The remaining years of Freeman's public career were taken up chiefly in his duties as master worker of the mint. Possibly he had other duties of an official character, if so much may be inferred from an entry in Pepys' *Diary*, May 12, 1660: "By us, in the Lark frigate, Sir Ralph Freeman and some others, going from the king to England, come to see my Lord, and so onward on their voyage."<sup>24</sup>

In 1662 Evelyn says Freeman was an old man.<sup>25</sup> The long period of constant public service was soon to end. For the sake of completeness the last entries upon the *Rolls*, which bring this sketch to a close, may be stated briefly. On May 13, 1663, he was commissioned to deliver a certain amount of gold to one Stephen Fox; in December he was allowed £500 per annum in addition to a certain percentage of the coinage. In February of the following year he proposed a new silver coinage according to a pattern which he had previously submitted. At this time he is spoken of as master of the requests, which means that he held that office for forty-seven years.

An order was issued to him on December 24, 1663, to coin all the money brought into the mint by the Royal African Company, and another on June 25, 1664, to allow one John Patterson £500 per annum. The last warrant issued to Freeman was March 22, 1665, which allowed three pennyweights of troy in the pound as a remedy for the shortage in the 3s. and 4d. pieces.<sup>26</sup> After this date no further records of Sir Ralph Freeman appear.

From these facts we can easily infer that Freeman was a

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, 1660-61, pp. 138, 386; 1661-62, pp. 219, 222.

<sup>24</sup> Vol. I, p. 58, ed. Braybrooke.

<sup>25</sup> *The Diary of John Evelyn*, Vol. II, p. 154, ed. Wheatley.

<sup>26</sup> *Rolls Series, Domestic*, 1661-62, pp. 369, 585; 1662-63, p. 358; 1663-64, pp. 41, 262.

*Ibid.*, 1663-64, p. 625; 1664-65, pp. 217, 266.

man of sterling qualities and enjoyed a good reputation. He is never referred to in the chatty letters of the time other than in terms of respect. The contest for the mastership of the rolls which occasioned a rich assortment of slanderous charges, did not bring forth one word against Freeman's character. In several entries the *Rolls* record instances in which he manifested a deep solicitude for his pledged word. His honesty is testified to by the increasing number of offices which were entrusted to his care. This quality will appear in especially strong light when we come to consider the use which he made of Seneca's tragedies. That he was industrious is obvious. His public career begins early and continues almost without a break for forty-seven years, the time during which he was master of the requests. The positions which he held ranged from that of a commissioner to ensure the observance of a proclamation concerning the manufacture of starch in the city of London to that of master worker of the mint. Along with his official duties he had a large private business, which included the exploitation of the Newcastle coal fields, the manufacture of alum, and the reclamation of public lands. These interests which he inherited from his uncle and from his father made him certainly one of the wealthiest men of his time. His large fortune, doubtless, had much to do with his success as an office seeker, which he most surely was. Yet we are inclined to believe that the dignity and judgment which are so marked in *Imperiale* were efficient qualities in the service of the King.

## II. THE HISTORY AND SOURCES OF *Imperiale*

The literary history of Freeman is, if we conceive it rightly, a simple one. He familiarized himself with the ancients as was customary for those of "the gentle passions" to do. Aristotle, Ovid, Seneca, and Plutarch of the "ancients" were carefully read, and Delrius and Heinsius of his own day.<sup>1</sup> Of

<sup>1</sup> Aristotle, Plutarch, Delrius, and Heinsius are quoted in the "arguments." Verse from Ovid is used as a lemma for the frontispiece. For influence of Seneca see *infra*.

these Seneca was after Freeman's own heart. The philosophy of this last of the ancients so affected him that in 1634 he tried a metrical version of *Consolatio ad Marciam*.<sup>2</sup> This attempt at poetry being somewhat encouraging and his interests in Seneca deepening, he then turned to a close study of Seneca's tragedies, the results of which in 1639 he embodied in a tragedy. The weighty issues of the day diverted him from further study of Seneca; but soon after the Restoration he returned to him and translated into verse *De Brevitate Vitae*. This, in short, is the story of Freeman as an author.

We shall consider here only the tragedy, to which we must now address our attention.

The date of the composition of *Imperiale* cannot be definitely determined, but a conjecture may be made that it was written between 1637 and 1639. This latter date is certain, as the entry in the *Stationers' Register*, March 1, 1638-39, shows: "1°. Martii 1638 [i.e., 1639]. Master Harper. Entred for his Copy vnder the hands of Master Baker and Master Mead warden a booke called A tragedy called *Imperiale*." Freeman's study of Seneca, which had its fullest expression in *Imperiale*, began five years before: "10 Martii, 1633. Master Seile. Entred for his Copy vnder the hands of Master Baker and Master Aspley warden a booke called *Lucius Anneus Seneca the Philosopher his booke of Consolation to Marcia translated into an English Poem by Sir Ra[lph] Ffreeman*."<sup>3</sup> A large portion of these five years must have been consumed in the reading and assimilation of the tragedies of Seneca; for Freeman was not a professional writer but a gentleman who turned his attention to literary studies during moments of leisure. The quotations in the preface to *Imperiale* show that he studied both the function and the technique of tragedy. In the dedication to his friend John Morris he declares that he never intended his play should appear before "the open World." The qualities of selection and repression which characterize

<sup>2</sup> See *infra*.

<sup>3</sup> See *Supra*.

his style give further evidence that his work was done slowly. Considering the habit of the author's mind and the character of his work, three years is not an unreasonable time to assign to preparation.

The main plot of *Imperiale* rests upon a story which is known to French, Spanish, and Italian legendary history. Langbaine<sup>4</sup> pointed out long ago the chief sources: Beard, *Theatre of God's Judgments*;<sup>5</sup> Goulart, *Histoires Admirables et Mémorables de Nostre Temps*;<sup>6</sup> Bandello, *Novelle*;<sup>7</sup> and Wanley, *Wonders*.<sup>8</sup> All these were equally accessible to Freeman.<sup>9</sup> The ones he did actually use cannot be determined, because the plot of *Imperiale* could be taken from any one of these sources without omitting a single incident in the play. The most natural version for Freeman to select would be that which offered the greatest ready-made dramatic motivation, which is unquestionably the story in Bandello's *novella*. The narratives of Beard and Wanley are negligible. Goulart's version, which is here appended, abridges Bandello's novel and affords an excellent study in Freeman's use of raw material.

“La servitude extrême veut estre doucement maniée, autrement elle conue un horrible feu de désespoir. Un gentilhomme Espagnol nommé don Riviero demeurant en l'isle Majorque, entre autres esclaves avoit un More contre lequel s'estant un jour courroucé fort asprement, il luy donna tant de traïs de chorde, que le pauvre esclave fut sur point de mourir. Mais [estant] eschappé il feignit plus d'affection de bien servir son maistre que paravant.

Riviero avoit une forteresse où n'y avoit que une avenue bien gardée d'un profound fossé & d'un pont levis, lequel hausse ceste place estoit imprenable forrs à coups de canons, ayant la mer qui le battoit au pied d'un roc sur ce qui elle estoit bastie. Un jour Riviero estant allé loin de son logis à la chasse, le More voyant l'occasion & le temps venu de se venger, sur tout pour ce que la Dame, femme de Riviero, qui avoit une maison au village prochain, estoit venue en la forteresse, pour [voir] sur la mer les galères qui y flottoyent, & avoir le plaisir de l'air: se jette après & hausse le pont,

<sup>4</sup> *An Account of the Dramatick Poets*, p. 226-227.

<sup>5</sup> Pt. I, p. 427; pt. II, p. 45.

<sup>6</sup> P. 355 *ff.*

<sup>7</sup> Vol. V, p. 274, trans. by John Payne.

<sup>8</sup> *The Wonders of the Little World*, chap. XI, p. 34. [But not published until 1678.—*Ed.*]

<sup>9</sup> Bandello's *Novelle* were translated by Belleforest in 1580.

empoigne la dame & la lie a un gros coffre en une salle basse près un petit lict verd, & enferme ses trois enfans qu'elle avoit menez avec elle, dans une chambre prochaine: puis il la viole honteusement, & comme au cry d'elle & des enfans les villageois fussent allez querir Riviero, qui acourt en diligence, le More ne se souciant de menace ni de prières, luy jette par les fenestres sur le roc son fils ainsé aagé d'environ sept ans, lequel fut aussi tost escrasé que tombé. Le pauvre gentilhomme réduit comme au désespoir essaye d'adoucir le cruel More pour sauver le reste; & le More feint y entendre, mais à condition que Riviero se coupast le nez, pour réparation des torts qu'il avoit fait à son esclave. Pensant gaigner quelque chose en se mutilant ainsi au gré d'un qui se glorifioit d'avoir honny sa femme, & qui venoit de meurtrir si cruellement son fils ainsé, néantmoins se coupa le nez, dont l'esclave merveilleusement joyeux au lieu de rabatre quelque chose de sa félonnie desmesurée se mocquant de tout ce qu'il avoit promis, & de la simplesse de son maistre, empoigne incontinent les deux autres petits enfans par les pieds, les froisse de plusieurs coups qu'il donne de leurs testes contre les murailles puis les jette sur le rocher après leur ainsé. Et se souciant aussi peu des cris de la populace amassée & ce terrible spectacle, que de ceux de son maistre, empoigne la Dame, laquelle il esgorge en présence de tous, & précipite le corps du plus haut de la tour en bas. Quo y fait, escumant de rage, il se jette la teste devant sur le roc du costé de la mer & se brise en pièces, finissant promptement sa détestée vie: a l'extrême regret de Riviero, qui n'avoit peu sauver aucun des siens ni chassier ce furieux esclave selon ses démerités. Plusieurs ont descrit ceste histoire en Espagnol, Italien & François fort amplement; mais je n'ay peu ni voulu la faire plus longue, estant si estrange que je tremble toutes les fois que j'y pense.

This is a powerful story, but it does not contain all the material that is necessary for a complete dramatic action. The constructive principles of the narrative and the drama are very different: the narrative emphasizes the designs and the consequences, while the drama stresses the intermediate stage, the unfolding of the designs. In this lies the difference of the *katharsis* in the two species of literature. When we see the threads spun before our eyes which must eventually work the destruction of the unwitting victim, the feeling of pity is converted into that of fellow-suffering. In the story we pity Riviero and in the drama we are fellow-sufferers with Imperiale. This difference of effect is brought about by introducing another plot, which affords the opportunity for the development of the designs of the first.

The second story may be summarized as follows: Two Italian families of noble lineage had been bitter enemies for years. The house Salimbino had destroyed the estate and the family of Montaninos, with the exception of Don Charles and his sister Angelica. Charles was threatened with death by a greedy merchant, to whom he owed a large sum of money which he was unable to pay. In the meantime the beauty and excellent qualities of Angelica had infatuated Anseamo, a Salimbino. Being an ancient enemy of her house, he felt he had no claim to her hand without an atonement for the past. The financial difficulties of Charles afforded him the opportunity, which he accepted by paying off secretly the entire debt owed by Charles. For this great kindness Charles felt that his sister, Angelica, was the only adequate reward. After much vacillation between duty to her brother and the demands of love, she reconciled the two hostile houses by her marriage.<sup>10</sup>

The plot of *Imperiale*, with a few minor exceptions, is now accounted for. We have two Italian families of noble rank at enmity with each other. The son of one house is in love with the lady of the other. The credulity of the lover is used by the slaves to avenge themselves upon one house, and they turn vile beasts to inflict vengeance themselves upon the other. The names of characters in a play are usually of no consequence but in this case they give historical coloring: Spinola, Justiniano, Doria, and Imperiale were characters well-known to contemporary Genoan life.<sup>11</sup> The name Angelica was carried over from the original.

As to the question whether *Imperiale* was ever staged, there is no evidence. This fact has led Genest to a negative inference in the matter;<sup>12</sup> but the only warranted attitude is that of Langbaine who said, "I know not whether the Play was acted."<sup>13</sup>

<sup>10</sup> See Fenton, *Tragical Discourses*, Discourse I; Painter, *Palace of Pleasure*, Vol. III, p. 288, The Thirtieth Nouell.

<sup>11</sup> See L. G. O. F. De Bréquigny, *Evolutions of Genoa*.

<sup>12</sup> *History of the Stage*, Vol. X, p. 129.

<sup>13</sup> *An Account of the Dramatick Poets*, p. 226-227.

III. SENECA'S INFLUENCE IN *Imperiale*

The influence of one author upon another is a matter in which one can least afford to dogmatise. It is generally hazardous to say that a certain line or idea was taken from any one source, unless there is more than a passing resemblance. The facts which determine the originality of an author should make a plain case. The danger of a false imputation is here emphasized in order that the pronounced influence under which we believe *Imperiale* to have been written may be given a judicious consideration.

As we stated above, the only other works of Freeman, besides *Imperiale*, are the metrical translations of Seneca's *Consolatio ad Marciam* in 1634 and *De Brevitate Vitae*, the second edition in 1664. In the preface to *Imperiale* he quotes from the introduction to Delrius's edition of the tragedies of Seneca; and in the play, IV, i, 22, he speaks of "that Hercules enrag'd," which from its context obviously refers to *Hercules Furens*. This is quite evidence enough to cause one to suspect the influence of Seneca upon *Imperiale*. The extent of the influence we shall now examine in detail.

The theme of Seneca's tragedies is that of revenge accompanied by horrors, lust, and shocking murders. The dramatic personages are rather symbols of abstract moods than human creatures acted upon by human passions. Reflective passages and dialogues weighted with philosophic thought abound.<sup>1</sup> The manner of dialogue is insipid, lifeless, wooden, and largely characterized by *stichomithia*. The style is sententious, stilted, and bombastic. At times the infernal machinery of mythology is taxed to its uttermost to supply images sufficiently horrible to express the passions of his characters. The chorus punctuates the acts with prophecies, maxims, and commonplaces of philosophy.<sup>2</sup>

These traits are equally characteristic of *Imperiale*. The

<sup>1</sup> Cunliffe, *The Influence of Seneca on Elizabethan Tragedy*, p. 20.

<sup>2</sup> See Fischer, *Zur Kunstentwicklung der englischen Tragödie*, pp. 9 *ff.*

slaves, Molosso and Sango, plot to wreak vengeance upon their masters, who have maltreated them. Their first victim is Francisco, the son of Spinola, who is persuaded that if he should disguise himself as Imperiale, he will be able to take Angelica a willing captive. In consequence he is murdered by Verdugo, the assassin, who has been hired by Spinola to murder Imperiale. The slaves avenge themselves upon Imperiale by dishonoring both his wife and daughter and then murdering them in his presence. To prevent himself from witnessing the deed Imperiale tears out his eyes. The slaves then kill themselves. That such a theme is Senecan is obvious.

As Fischer has observed, the characters of Seneca do not live as true dramatic personages.<sup>3</sup> So here, the archvillain, Molosso, commits the most atrocious crime conceivable, and yet he does not horrify us. It is not that his crimes are so criminal that they become aesthetic nor that they are so brutal that they become impossible, but simply that we fail to feel any personality whatever. His associate, Sango, is a mere foil. Imperiale, around whom our sympathies would like to center, repels us by consenting to a treacherous murder of Spinola. At the very first Spinola strikes us with curious interest; but when his plot to murder Imperiale has turned boomerang, we are rapt with amazement at his command of infernal history. Justiniano is hardly more than the mouthpiece of a stoic philosophy. After Verdugo's defense of the trade of murder, we feel a real interest in him; but when we reflect how unnatural such a disquisition is in the mouth of a professional assassin, he too passes. Doria is a rather good lover, and yet when he swears that he will kill himself we hardly feel that a human life is in jeopardy. The characters, Honoria and Angelica, are types of pure, modest, wellbred womanhood. Had Angelica been left to grow instead of being reared on the stoic catechism, she might have become an ideal heroine. The other personages need no mention. For the most part the qualities with which each character is endowed are so few that they

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 50.

might be analyzed and catalogued. The power of the play lies, not in the conflict of personalities, but in the clash of situations.

A cursory examination of the play will show to what extent reflective passages and dialogues weighted with philosophic thought abound. There is scarcely a character that does not attempt to justify his acts by some more or less formal process of deductive reasoning. A good example of the species of lawyers' brief with which Freeman furnishes his characters is that of the assassin, Verdugo, in Act II, sc. v. He begins by moralizing upon the power of weapons to "frustrate Providence," saying that neither fortress nor sanctuary can safeguard a man against the murderer who tempers his actions with judgment and resolution. The assassin renders real service, not only to the individual by keeping the insolent in awe and securing personal safety, but to the "publick States of Italy" by deterring men "from giving and from suffering affronts." He does not murder gradually as do the lawyers, doctors, and usurers, but by dispatching unexpectedly he is "more pitiful;" "for all the ill of death is apprehension." Lastly, his "hand of justice is not partiall;" he "may do as much for Spinola himselfe."

The crude and obvious character of Freeman's *stichomithia* may be seen from the following passages:

*Spi.* What is there that should wound an active spirit  
Like base contempt?

*Just.* The guilt of one base act.

*Spi.* Should we not then be jealous of our fame?

*Just.* If we within find cause of jealousie.

*Spi.* Reports may brand, although they be untrue.

*Just.* Yes, those that take their honour upon trust.

*Spi.* Our honour by opinion must subsist.

(I, ii, 55-61.)

*Hon.* Cassandra's true predictions were despis'd.

*Imp.* And well they might, had Troy bin provident.

*Hon.* Many at length deplore their unbelief.

*Imp.* But more lament their rash credulity.

*Hon.* Future events by dreams have been reveal'd.

(I, iv, 52-57.)

A glaring instance of the stilted and bombastic style and of the use made of infernal history is afforded in the following speech of Spinola, after receiving the news of his son's murder:

Ye Furies, active ministers of hell,  
 That have your heads invironed with Snakes,  
 And in your cruell hands beare fiery scourges,  
 Lend me your bloudy torches to finde out,  
 And punish th' authour of my dear sons murther:  
 Assist *Megaera* with a new revenge,  
 Such as even thou would'st feare to execute:  
 Let a vast sea of bloud ore-flow his house,  
 And never ebbe till I shall pitty him;  
 Ease now th' infernall ghosts, remove the stone  
 From th' *Attick* thieve, and lay it on his shoulders;  
 Let the swift stream deceive his endless thirst;  
 And let his hands wind the unquiet wheele,  
 That hourly tortures the *Thessalian* King:  
 Let Vultures tire upon his growing Liver,  
 But let 'hem nere be tir'd; and since there is  
 One of the fifty *Danaan* sisters wanting,  
 Let 'hem admit that man into her roome,  
 And with their Pitchers only load his armes:  
 How am I sure 'tis he? or if it be,  
 It is the Law of Retribution,  
 And is but just, my conscience tels me so:  
 Hence childehish conscience; shall I live his scorne,  
 Or the whole Cities Pasquill: I abhor it.  
 Were he protected by the *Thunderer*,  
 I'd snatch him from his bosome, and in spite  
 Of his revengefull thunder, throw him quick  
 Into the throat of the infernall *dog*;  
 Or if that monster be not yet releast,  
 Since great *Alcides* drag'd him in a chaine  
 Through th' amaz'd townes of *Greece*; *Enceladus*  
 That with his earth-bread flames affrighted heaven,  
 Rather than he shall scape, shall fire the world:  
 But I delay, and weare away the time  
 With empty words: why do I call for Furies,  
 That beare in mine own breast a greater fury  
 Than *Acheron* and *night* did ever hatch?  
 Ile dart my selfe like winged Lightning on him;  
 Have I no friend?

(IV, ii.)

The resemblances to Seneca in style, choice of theme, conception of characters, and construction of plot, are of themselves convincing, but the evidence does not end here. The similar situations and the adapted or translated passages are so numerous that *Imperiale* becomes literally a Senecan mosaic. The extent of this indebtedness will be shown by considering the acts in their order.<sup>4</sup>

### Act I

ii, 55 *ff.*—Justiniano tells Spinola that a wrong to one's honor cannot be avenged; this same right Amphitryon denies to Hercules (*Hercules Furens*, 1185–1191).<sup>5</sup>

iv, 19 *ff.*—The dreams of Honoria and Angelica in which they anticipate the heinous deeds of the slaves have many parallels in Seneca.<sup>6</sup> Imperiale's explanation of their dreams is the same as Nutrix offers for those of Poppaea (*Octavia*, 740–756).<sup>7</sup>

### Act II

i, 15 *ff.*—Francisco cites the power of Cupid among the goats to explain his own infatuation: Phaedra for a similar purpose uses the same allusions (*Phaedra*, 186–194).

iv, 25–28.—Molosso says to Sango of Imperiale,

To let him live, and feele himselfe so wretched,  
That he shall seek and sue for absent death,  
Is a revenge becomes me, and I'll have it. . . . .

<sup>4</sup> The reader is referred to the Notes for supplementary evidence of Senecan influence. [These are not reprinted in this volume.—*Ed.*]

<sup>5</sup> For illustrations of the check and balance scheme which prevails in *Imperiale* see Oedipus and Antigone in *Phoenissae*; Phaedra and Nutrix in *Phaedra*; Oedipus and Creon in *Oedipus*; Andromache and Senex in *Troades*; Medea and Nutrix in *Medea*; Clytemestra and Nutrix in *Agamemnon*; Alcmena and Philoctetes in *Hercules Oetaeus*; and Nero and Seneca in *Octavia*.

<sup>6</sup> *Thyestes*, 434–444, 957–960; *Octavia*, 719–739.

<sup>7</sup> That Seneca did not write *Octavia* and possibly not *Hercules Oetaeus* has no bearing in the matter; the edition which Freeman used had both of these in it. For question of authorship see Schanz, *Geschichte der römischen Litteratur*, III, ii, 2, 38–61 in I. Müller's *Handbuch der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft*.

This same method is adopted by Atreus to punish his brother Thyestes.

*Sat.* Quonam ergo telo tantus utetur dolor?

*Atr.* Ipso Thyeste. (*Thyestes*, 258-259.)

### Act III

i, 25 *ff.*—The cautions that Angelica gives Nugella about dallying with one's honor certainly echo those of Nutrix to Phaedra:

Quisquis in primo obstitit  
Pepulitque amorem, tutus ac victor fuit;  
Qui blandiendo dulce nutritivit malum,  
Sero recusat ferre quod subiit jugum.

(*Phaedra*, 132-135.)

### Act IV

i, 21-23.—Evagrio in describing the conduct of Spinola says

He vents  
His fury often in Poetick straines,  
And seems to be that *Hercules* enrag'd . . . .

Either *Hercules Furens* or *Hercules Oetaeus* is here referred to; for in the following speech Spinola not only vents his fury in the manner of Senecan characters in like circumstances, but he employs the same mythological allusions: a grouping that could hardly have been avoided by one so saturated with Seneca's tragedies.<sup>8</sup>

iii, 30 *ff.*—This masque is a very close adaptation of the marriage song in praise of the nuptials between Jason and Creusa.

Et tu, qui facibus legitimis ades,  
Noctem discutiens auspice dextera  
Huc incede gradu marcidus ebrio,  
Praecingens roseo tempora vinculo.  
Et tu quae, gemini praevia temporis,  
Tarde, stella, redis semper amantibus:  
Te matres, avide te cupiunt nurus  
Quamprimum radios spargere lucidos.

<sup>8</sup> For passage see *supra*, p. 123. Illustrations of this grouping may be found in *Phaedra*, 1228 *ff.*; *Agamemnon*, 12 *ff.*; *Hercules Oetaeus*, 942 *ff.*

Concesso, juvenes, ludite jurgio,  
 Hinc illinc, juvenes, mittite carmina:  
 Rara est in dominos justa licentia.  
 Candida thyrsigeri proles generosa Lyaei,  
 Multifidam jam tempus erat succendere pinum:  
 Excute sollemnem digitis marcentibus ignem.  
 Festa dicax fundat convicia fescenninus,  
 Solvat turba jocos.

(*Medea*, 67-74 and 107-114.)

### Act V

v, 14 *ff.*—The dialogue between Imperiale and Honoria, in which she relates the shocking outrage committed by Molosso, reminds one of a similar situation and dialogue between Phaedra and Theseus.<sup>9</sup>

v, 46-47.—Molosso laments to Imperiale that he has “so narrow a Stage To Act my vengeance on, as but two women.” This is very suggestive of Medea’s wish that she had given birth to fourteen children instead of two, that by killing them she might increase the punishment of Jason.<sup>10</sup>

v, 55-58.—The first of the following passages is for the most part a translation of the second:

*Im.* Alas poor souls, what crime have they committed?  
*Mol.* They are both thine Imperial, that’s their crime,  
 Which cannot be washt off, but with their blood.

*Thy.* Quid liberi meruere— *Atr.* Quod fuerant tui.  
*Thy.* Natos parenti— *Atr.* Fateor et, quod me juvat,  
 Certos.

(*Thyestes*, 1100-1103.)

v, 82-85.—Compare the following passages:

*Imp.* Hold, hold, I beg but respite to depart.  
*Mol.* So would the joy of our revenge depart.  
 It is the height of our triumphant glory,  
 That thou shalt see ’hem die, cast thine eyes up.

<sup>9</sup> *Phaedra*, 864-902.

<sup>10</sup> *Medea*, 954-956 and 1009 *ff.*

*Jas.* Infesta, memet perime. *Med.* Misereri jubes.  
 Bene est, peractum est. plura non habui, dolor,  
 Quae tibi litarem. lumina huc tumida alleva,  
 Ingrate Jason . . . . .

(*Medea*, 1018-1021.)

v, 90.—Rather than see his wife and daughter murdered, Imperiale tears out his eyes. This, of course, recalls the like deed by Oedipus.<sup>11</sup>

v, 93-96.—Then Imperiale cries out

So shall the Sun and Moon, heavens rawling eyes,  
 Drop from their spheres at the worlds generall ruine  
 T'avoid the spectacle. . . . .

which suggests the elaborate lamentation of the chorus in *Thyestes*, who feared, after the horrible crime perpetrated by Atreus against Thyestes, lest the whole fabric of the universe should dissolve into fragments, or lapse into eternal chaos.<sup>12</sup>

The draft upon the different tragedies of Seneca is so great in the sixth scene that it becomes almost a compilation.

vi, 22-27.—Doria upon hearing of the outrage and death of his sweetheart raves:

Where am I now, in fruitful Italy?  
 Or in Hircania, where there's nothing seene  
 But horrid monsters, and perpetual snow?  
 O wickedness that no age will believe,  
 And all Posterity deny! malicious fate. . . . .

This is obviously a reminiscence of the Messenger's speech in which he relates that Atreus has duped Thyestes into eating the flesh of his own sons:

Quaenam ista regio est? Argos et Sparte, pios  
 Sortita fratres, et maris gemini premens  
 Fauces Corinthos, an feris Hister fugam  
 Praebens Alanis, an sub aeterna nive  
 Hyrcana tellus an vagi passim Scythae?  
 Quis hic nefandi est conscius monstri locus?

(*Thyestes*, 627-632.)

<sup>11</sup> *Phoenisae*, 91, and *Oedipus*, 954.

<sup>12</sup> *Thyestes*, 789-884.

vi, 58-61.—Doria says to Justiniano, who has just prevented him from committing self-murder,

It is not worse  
To kill him that unwilling is to die,  
Than t' hinder him that's willing.

This is a translation of an excuse which Oedipus offers to Antigone in justification of his attempt to take his own life,

qui cogit mori  
Nolentem in aequo est quiue properantem impedit.  
(*Phoenissae*, 98-99.)

vi, 61-63.—Justiniano replies,

If thou kill'st  
Thyselue, thereby thou dost confesse a guilt.  
*Dor.* The guilty seldom inflict punishment  
Upon themselves. . . . .

This was intended, doubtless, as a translation of

*Nutr.* Nocens videri, qui mori quaerit, cupit.  
*Dejan.* Mors innocentes sola deceptos facit.

(Hercules Oetaeus, 889-890.)

vi, 68-71.—Then Justiniano says in answer to Doria,

It is not as thou think'st renowned Doria,  
A vertue to hate life; but to endure  
These weighty strokes of Fortune valiantly.

This is a translation of Antigone's reply to Oedipus,

non est, ut putas, virtus, pater,  
Timere vitam, sed malis ingentibus  
Obstare nec se vertere ac retro dare.

(Phoenissae, 190-192.)

vi, 115-119.—Spinola after witnessing the sad lot of Imperiale says:

Thy sad story  
Would melt a flinty heart into compassion;  
Procrustes or the wild Inhabitants  
Of horrid Caucasus are mild to these.

The allusion here is to that passage in which Thyestes begs his brother Atreus for death,

Tale quis vidit nefas?  
Quis inhospitalis Caucasi rupem asperam  
Heniochus habitans quisve Cecropiis metus  
Terris Procrustes?

*(Thyestes, 1047-1050.)*

vi, 164-176.—These two closing speeches are modeled closely upon the two concluding speeches in *Hercules Furens*.

The extensive use which Freeman made of Seneca may well excite astonishment. The plot, characters, style, and animus of the play are all deep-dyed Senecan. He invents no scenes for dramatic relief, and throws in no bits of diverting humor: everything is stressed or repressed according to his model. In fertility of invention and felicity in creating dramatic personalities, two of the most indispensable assets of a playwright, he exhibits no power or promise. The play has every mark of a *dilettante* in letters. It was doubtless the product of classical reading and general interest in literature, at that time the prevailing attitude of men "of the gentle passions." And yet, despite all its short-comings, we read this old tragedy with pleasure. The steady, equable flow of the rhythm, the order and majesty of thought, the rapid succession of thrilling, startling clashes of incidents, and the harrowing grief and desolation at the end, all unite to make *Imperiale* a moving tragedy. The last word, however, shall be given to that estimable old critic, Langbaine, who has passed upon the play the only critical judgment that we possess. He says, "I know not whether this Play was acted; but certainly it far better deserved to have appeared on the Theatre than many of our modern Farces that have usurped the Stage, and deposed its lawful Monarch, Tragedy. . . . The Catastrophe of this Play is moving as most Tragedies of this Age, and therefore our Author chose a proper Lemma for the Frontispiece of his Play, in that verse of Ovid, *Omne Genus Scripti gravitate Tragoedia vincit.*"<sup>13</sup>

<sup>13</sup> *An Account of the Dramatick Poets*, p. 226-227.

# THE CENCI STORY IN LITERATURE AND IN FACT

CLARENCE STRATTON

## I. THE CENCI STORY IN LITERATURE

To the Italian the tragedy of the Cenci, with the murder of Francesco, the execution of Beatrice, and the overthrow of this great family, means more than it does to a foreigner. The fellow countrymen of the Cenci see in the history of this family more than a human development, more than a just, fitting expiation for crime, wickedness, and rapine. Nor is the story familiar to the cultured classes, the readers, alone. The valet of Shelley recognized at once the picture of the beautiful, young, and unhappy Beatrice, which hung in his master's room.<sup>1</sup> In the Italian quarters of large cities in America, paper-back pamphlets are sold containing the popular account of Beatrice Cenci.<sup>2</sup> If thus the common people know the story, can recognize its chief character, what is the story's significance to them?

To the group of men who lived through the five days of Milan, who watched for years the hated Austrian uniforms in the cafés at Venice, to the followers of Garibaldi, to the Carbonari, this tragedy means the beginning of Italian liberty. They see in the appeal of Beatrice to the Pope for protection against her unnatural father, in the Pontiff's neglect of her plea, in her subsequent redress and vengeance, the first daring stroke against Papal domination. They see the abuse of power in the ease with which Francesco Cenci bought his immunity from the consequences of his crimes. In the activity with which the Church prosecuted the girl "who sent back to hell the soul that belonged there,"<sup>3</sup> in its vacillating between the

<sup>1</sup> Shelley. *The Cenci*. Introduction.

<sup>2</sup> *Beatrice Cenci, Racconto Storico*. Firenze. 1897. This contains also, *Ultime Ore di B. Cenci*, Ottava Rima di Quintilio Cosimi.

<sup>3</sup> Swinburne. *Studies in Prose and Poetry*. *Les Cenci*.

desire for the family's vast wealth and the doubt raised by the great lawyer Farinaccio, they see the corruption that was subsequently forced upon the country, the corruption that came to such an ignominious end in 1870. Here was a pure young girl, who killed a ravisher in the defense of her honor, unjustly swept away by the cupidity and rapacity of a clerical hierarchy.<sup>4</sup> On the contrary, others see a great church organization stolidly, impartially carrying out the decrees of the law, as would Justice herself, blindfolded, with no consideration of the parties concerned, judging by the facts alone. These people contend that the sentence of death on the conspiring wife, son, and daughter is an example of the restraining power, the controlling influence of the Papal Court. They review the facts. A girl kills her own father. When she is tried, it is claimed that she did the deed in self defense. But she will not acknowledge her shame; even the *question dure* can wring from her no more than an agonized enigmatical sentence: "Free me from the cords; and what I should keep silent, I will keep silent;"—a sentence which might mean that she repeated the accusation against her father, or that she admitted her own guilt.<sup>5</sup>

The facts just related form the plots of all the versions of the Cenci story before 1864, whether in Italian, French, or English. These are as follows: (1) Shelley, P. B., *The Cenci*, 1819. (2) Landor, W. S., *Five Scenes*, 1853. (3) Stendhal, *Les Cenci*, 1855, in which is translated the following MS. (4) *Histoire Véritable de la Mort de Jacques et B. Cenci, et de Lucrèce Petroni Cenci, leur belle-mère, exécutés pour crime de parricide samedi dernier 11 septembre 1599, sous le règne de notre saint père le pape Clement VIII Aldobrandini.* (5) *Geschichte der Hinrichtung der B. Cenci und ihrer Familie unter Papst Clemens VIII in Rom* (Vienne, 1789.) (6) Malartie, A. de, *Relation de la Mort de Giacomo et B. Cenci et de Lucrèce Petroni Leur Belle-mère* (Paris, 1828).

<sup>4</sup> For this view *v. F. D. Guerrazzi, Beatrice Cenci.*

<sup>5</sup> Torrigiani, *Clemente VIII e il Processo della B. Cenci*, p. 179. "Scioglieteme dalla corda, e quello che dovrò tacere, tacerò," il che significa, "Io confesserò il mio delitto, ma non ne pubblicherò mai la causa; io morirò piuttosto che dire io stessa d'essere stata violata." Bertolotti, *F. Cenci e la sua Famiglia*, 1879, pp. 125, 145.

(7) *Vita di B. Cenci, tratta dal Manoscritto Antico, con Annottazioni sul Processo e Condanna* (Rome, 1849). (8) Custine, M. de, *B. Cenci, tragèdie* (Paris, 1833). (9) Niccolini, G. B., *B. Cenci, tragedia* (Firenze, 1844). (10) Carbone, G., *Beatrice Cenci, Dramma* (Pistoia, 1853). (11) Guerrazzi, F. D., *B. Cenci, Storia del Secolo XVI* (Pisa, 1851).

The account by Guerrazzi, a well known treatment in Italian and in English translation (by Scott, C. A., London, 1858) is an example of the ordinary historical novel with a purpose. The book was written in the middle of the nineteenth century with the avowed intention of arousing interest in the cause of Italian liberty, in stimulating enthusiasm for the land subdued under a foreign army and an apathetic Papal head. Though the delineations of the father and the Pope are not overdone, the story is mainly fanciful. That virtue which knows no creeds, that innocence which brooks no touch of pollution, are continually eulogized. Beatrice is depicted as the figure of long-suffering patience awakened to fury; as Italy must soon be awakened. Although written thus for a given end, dashed off in a hurry, branded with marks of amateurishness, the story as here told has some power to move the feelings. The delineations of Beatrice and her companions in suffering are not convincing portraits; but the plots and the deeds of Francesco, though not warranted by the truth of history, are quite befitting him.

This novel has been popular enough in Italy to preserve the traditional version of the Cenci story. Another book, with a version nearer the truth, has never reached the same class of readers. This book is the volume by C. T. Dal Bono entitled *Storia di B. Cenci e de' Suoi Tempi con Documenti Inedite* (Napoli, 1864). The book is a badly arranged, ill-digested mass of material concerning the Cenci family and anything else in Italy that the author chooses to insert. But Dal Bono goes to the depositions of the witnesses during the trial for most of his information; he includes such documents as the will of Francesco Cenci, letters of Beatrice, testimony of Ber-

nardo, and opinions by Farinaccio, the lawyer for the defense; so that a student may find here suggestions of the conclusions reached by two later writers on the same theme.

In 1872 a formal defense of the action of the Church during the trial of the Cenci appeared in a volume published by Antonio Torrigiani, *Clemente VIII e il Processo Criminale della B. Cenci*. The study is dedicated *alle donne Barbera e Angelica Aldobrandini*, who were also members of the family to which that Pope belonged. Of more value to the student, this work is also too one-sided, but it contains a large amount of interesting out-of-the-way information. From this book we receive the first intimation that Beatrice Cenci was much more worldly wise, much more peccable, than a love for Shelley's drama would have us believe.

Passing by the version of Stendhal, *Les Cenci* (1855), an account in few things historically correct, we come to the first unbiased, unprejudiced treatment of the Cenci family and its history in *Francesco Cenci e la sua Famiglia, Notizie e Documenti Raccolti per A. Bertolotti*, published in 1877, second edition in 1879. Nearly all the facts connected with the family and its ruin are here set down—baptismal records, depositions, messages, letters, Papal decrees, court sentences, household accounts, entries from lawyers' notebooks, opinions of advocates, wills.

The Italian historians and chroniclers do not have much to say of the Cenci tragedy. The effect, however, that the events produced at the time is indicated by the short relation in Murator, *Annali d'Italia*, under the year 1599.<sup>6</sup> This passage reads as follows:

A great sensation was made in this year in Rome and throughout all Italy by an unusual case of villainy and of justice. Francesco Cenci, a Roman noble, possessed great wealth, for he had inherited from his father more than 80,000 *scudi* of annual income; but his iniquity was greater. His least vice was that of the most revolting and nefarious sensualism, his greatest renouncing religion. From his first marriage he had five sons and

<sup>6</sup> Quoted by Torrigiani, p. 178.

two daughters; from his second marriage, no children. The brutality shown by him to the former is indescribable, and the daughters suffered treatment no less bestial.

The older daughter, having sent a petition to the Pope, escaped from this torment, for her father was forced to give her in marriage. Beatrice, the younger, remained at home, growing up beautiful, even under the disordered desires of him who had given her life, for he made her believe that such vicious acts were not sins. This perverted man was not ashamed to abuse his daughter before the eyes of his wife, her stepmother. Finally the girl, recognizing the brutality of her father, began to repulse him. . . .

The daughter could not support such an existence; after telling her relatives of her father's treatment without securing any relief, emboldened by her sister's example, she sent a well composed petition to the Pope, in the name of her stepmother. This may, or may not, have been presented; it is certain that it had no effect; but it was found in the *Segretaria* when needed. In the meantime this became known to the father, and was a reason for his increasing his cruelty to his wife and daughter, even to keeping them locked in their rooms. Goaded to desperation, they vowed his death. It was not difficult to draw into the plot, Giacomo, who had wife and children, for he also had suffered the tyranny of his father. So in his own house the sleeping old man was murdered at night by two assassins, and his body thrown secretly into a ravine, so it might appear that he had fallen and so been killed.

But God does not permit that the great crime of parricide should be enjoyed in happiness. The guilty were discovered and arrested; they gave way before the pains of torture. Pope Clement read the whole trial, then commanded that the prisoners be quartered by horses. Although the principal lawyers of Rome conducted the defense, the Pope with raised hand refused to listen to them. Nevertheless the famous Farinaccio succeeded in securing an audience; in a plea of four hours he made known the villainy of the dead man.

Landor includes among his *Acts and Scenes* one entitled *Beatrice Cenci, Five Scenes*. In a brief introduction, among other things he writes:

These scenes interfere very little with Shelley's noble tragedy. Two names are the same; one character, by necessity, is similar; Count Cenci, the wickedest man on record. His benefactions to the Papacy, under the rubric of penalties, or quit-rents for crimes, amounted to 300,000 crowns; so that, after S. Peter, King Pepin and Countess Matilda, the Roman See was under greater obligations to him than to any other supporter. Crimes in the Papal State are as productive to the government as vines and olives;

no wonder his death was so cruelly avenged. His life had been its gaudy day; and his loss was the severest it had ever sustained in one person. Yet, so little of gratitude is there in high places, his funeral was unattended by the Cardinals and Court, and what is more remarkable, no poet wrote an elegy to deplore, or an epitaph to praise him.

In these five scenes, Landor has powerfully sketched the whole tragedy. His conception of the main character may be gained from the soliloquy which Francesco Cenci delivers after his confessor has left him.

There must be (since all fear it) pains below.  
But how another's back can pass for mine,  
Or how the scourge be softened into down  
By holy water, puzzles me; no drop  
Is there; and nothing holy. Doubt I will.  
Now, can these fellows in their hearts believe  
What they would teach us? Yes, they must. Methinks  
I have some courage: I dare many things,  
Most things; yet, were I certain I should fall  
Into a lion's jaws at close of day  
If I went on, I should be loath to go,  
Although some night-cap from some booth well-barred  
Opens a window, crying, "Never fear!"  
Is there no likeness? Theirs is the look-out.  
They toss my sins on shoulder readily;  
Are they quite sure they can as readily  
Shuffle them off again? They catch our pouch.  
The price, the stipulated price, I pay;  
Will the receiver be as prompt to them?  
May he not question them? Well, they are gone,  
Three hundred thousand crowns; and more must go;  
I shall cry "quit"—but what will their cry be?  
When time is over, none can ask for time;  
Payment must come—and these must pay, not I.  
"Three hundred thousand crowns," runs my receipt,  
"Holiness and Infallibility."  
At bottom, I am safe; the firm is good.  
If the wax burn their fingers, let them blow  
And cool it: there it sticks; my part is done.

In actual fact Beatrice did not herself plead before the Pope, but Landor has brought these two together.

*Clement.* Thy name.  
*Beatrice.* 'Tis Beatrice.  
*Clement.* Thy surname.  
*Beatrice.* Was—  
*Clement.* Speak, thou sobbing fool! Then speak will I.  
*Cenci.* No doubt thou gladly wouldest forget  
 Thy father's name: it burns into thy soul;  
 Thou canst not shake it off, thou canst not quench it.  
 Thou, ere thou camest hither, didst forget  
 Thou wert his child. What wouldest thou urge thereon?  
*Beatrice.* Never did I forget he was my father,  
 He did forget—forget—forget I was his child.  
*Clement.* Passionate tears drop from unholy lids  
 More often than from holy. The best men  
 May chide their children; may dislike, may hate—  
*Beatrice.* O, had he hated me!  
*Clement.* Perverse! Perverse!  
 . . . . .  
*Clement.* Get thee gone,  
 Parricide, hie thee from my sight, the rack  
 Awaits thee.  
*Beatrice.* Holy father, I have borne  
 That rack already which tears filial love  
 From love paternal. Is there more behind?  
*Clement.* Questionest thou God's image upon earth?  
*Beatrice.* Sire, I have questioned God himself, and asked  
 How long shall innocence remain unheard!  
*Clement.* Say thou art guilty, and thy bonds are loose.  
*Beatrice.* O, holy father, guilty am I not.  
*Clement.* Die in thy sin, then,—unrepentant, cursed!  
*Beatrice.* My sins are washed away; not by the blood  
 Of him whose name to utter were opprobrious,  
 But by his blood who gives you power to rule  
 And me to suffer. God, thy will be done!

It is hardly necessary to recall Shelley's play, so unlike the other productions of the great "poet's poet," that drama, in which as he himself writes, he "lays aside the presumptuous attitude of an instructor, and is content to paint, with such colors as his own heart furnishes, that which has been." We cannot refrain from comparing Shelley's *The Cenci* with *Prometheus Unbound*, and wondering that the same man could

write both. Critics have declared that companionship for *The Cenci* must be sought in *Oedipus Tyrannus*, *Medea*, *King Lear*, and *Phèdre*; while Swinburne writes enthusiastically of the play,

Et depuis Webster, le confrère et l'héritier de Shakespeare jamais des vers pareil n'avaient retenti sur la scène anglaise. Ce n'est pas—il s'en faut bien—que le théâtre ait accueilli le drame que lui présentait Shelley. Une telle idée n'aurait pu germer que dans la cervelle detraquée de ce poète monomane. Les directeurs se signèrent d'horreur à cette proposition d'aliéné. Mettre sous les yeux d'une jeune femme tant soit peu respectable ce rôle effrayant de Béatrice Cenci! Shelley dût se contenter de faire imprimer son chef-d'œuvre à Livourne.<sup>7</sup>

At the very opening of Shelley's tragedy the reader is plunged deep into a moving and affecting story. Francesco Cenci is arranging with a priest for hushing up a murder, but the See is grasping now;—this affair costs the noble a third of his estates. The reader sees Beatrice secretly meeting her priestly lover, Orsino. Then follows that terrible banquet where Francesco boasts of his villainy; where the guests, horrified by his crimes and speeches, shrink away from him, but not one dares to heed the pleading words of the wife and daughter for help. The scenes of his cruelty to these two women, his bending of them to his will, are almost too painful to re-read. Despair at last drives the victims of his power to tell Orsino of their suffering, and a plan is agreed on, to murder Cenci while he is on his way to Petrella, his country villa outside the Papal States. By a miscalculation of time this plot fails. The hired assassins are introduced into the house by Beatrice, but they hesitate to kill a sleeping old man, until her taunts and encouragement nerve them to accomplish the deed. Next morning Cenci is found dead in a ravine below; it is declared that he fell from a rickety balcony. But suspicion is aroused in the mind of the Papal Legate; suspicion that is confirmed when one of the escaping murderers is captured and brought to trial. All the members of the Cenci family are arrested. After the

<sup>7</sup> Swinburne. *Studies in Prose and Poetry. Les Cenci.*

trial and conviction, the Pope refuses to intercede; the condemned stepmother and daughter prepare for death.

We are tempted to supplement this slender outline by quoting at large;—the conversation between Beatrice and her lover, her wild questioning of Lucretia, their terrible despair, the rage of Cenci at his sinister banquet, his commands to his wife, the scene in Giacomo's room. In this last mentioned the son, waiting to hear that his father has been killed, watches a flickering flame expire.

Thou small flame

Which, as a dying pulse rises and falls,  
Still flickerest up and down, how very soon,  
Did I not feed thee, wouldst thou fail and be  
As thou hadst never been! So wastes and sinks  
Even now, perhaps, the life that kindled mine;  
But that no power can fill with vital oil,—  
That broken lamp of flesh.

So too might be added the lines in which Beatrice spurs on the hesitating murderers; the picture of her conduct at the trial, where a single scornful glance silences Marzio from whom the rack had forced a confession; the final scene, in which Lucretia, Beatrice, and Giacomo, going to death, bid farewell to the fourteen-year-old Bernardo;—these scenes draw tears, arouse the emotions, and stir the blood.

There remains one other English version to speak of, *The Unnatural Combat* by Philip Massinger. Though Swinburne does not mention this play in his essay on the Cenci, the likeness of the two stories impresses a reader at once. Mr. Arthur Symons, in his edition of Massinger in the *Mermaid Series*, hints at a comparison. Koeppel first examined the two stories in *Quellen Studien zu den Dramen Chapman's, Massinger's, und Ford's*, 1897; and in this work declared that Massinger had based the play on the recent tragedy in Rome during the years 1598–9.

The correspondences listed by Herr Koeppel are these:<sup>8</sup>

<sup>8</sup> *Quellen Studien*, p. 86, seq.

1. Francesco Cenci and his son Giacomo were enemies. Malefort and his son are enemies, in the play.
2. There is a tradition that Francesco poisoned his wife. (This has not been proved—it was probably added by the people at the time; but for Massinger it was as valuable dramatically as though it were fact.)

In the play, Malefort has poisoned his first wife.

3. Francesco imprisoned Beatrice at Petrella.

In the play, Malefort has Theocrine, his daughter, locked up in the fortress.

4. Beatrice was the mistress of some unknown lover; indications point to Olimpio Calvetti, keeper of the castle. To this lover Beatrice gave herself, and became a mother.

Montreville, keeper of the fortress, pretended friend to Malefort, ravishes Theocrine.

To these correspondences might be added:

5. The report of a banquet at which Francesco displayed his villainy, and explained how he intended to rid himself of his sons by leaving them at the University with no funds. This banquet is included in Shelley's *The Cenci*.

The banquet in *The Unnatural Combat*.

Of the dramas of Massinger, none is more powerful than this. No other play reaches so deeply into the soul-searching problems of life, no other one depicts so clearly the struggle of a man against himself. In no other play by this author is there such a figure of perfect villainy as is here depicted in Montreville; in no other play is there a woman to match the wretched and innocent Theocrine. The catastrophe is the most surprising and overpowering in the range of the English drama.

The events of the story, and even the *mise-en-scène*, have been much altered by Massinger, but the following is, in main, the story as he treats it.

Malefort, Admiral of Marseilles, is in prison for failing to win a naval engagement against his renegade son, who has become the leader of pirates. His daughter, aided by her lover, Beaufort, induces the governor to permit Malefort to

plead in his own defense. During his pleading, a message is brought to him from his son, challenging him to decide in single combat a private quarrel between them. These unnatural combatants meet; the son is slain. This victory reestablishes the doubted loyalty of the Admiral, but a change in his nature is perceived. The beginnings of an incestuous love for his daughter Theocrine become apparent; at her wedding banquet he madly toasts her, breaks off the betrothal to Beaufort, and retires with Theocrine to his own house. At last he imparts his mad passion to his feigned friend Montreville, a rejected suitor of Theocrine, who advises him to overcome his unruly desires by putting temptation away from him. The father, battling with himself, seizing any help, entrusts his daughter to Montreville, by whom she is carried off to his fortress. Here he holds her despite the efforts of both her lover and her father. For Malefort has over-estimated his own power of self control; —tormented, racked, allowing himself to be convinced by false analogies and sophistry, he comes to Montreville to beseech him to restore his daughter. If the effect on the reader, who has time to revolve and to foresee, is one of surprise, the effect on an audience must have been tremendous, when Malefort sees Theocrine thrust out, "her garments loose, her hair dishevelled," hears her tale of her keeper's perfidy and of her shame, and then sees her die. As the father rages over his loss, his mind lives again in his past crimes; he sees before him the spirits of his poisoned wife and his bloody murdered son, who tried to avenge his mother. Whether these spirits were bodily outside appearances or not, the stage of Massinger's time had but one way of representing them—by depicting them as ghosts. This last scene is not a mistake, as has been sometimes said; it is an evidence of Massinger's insight and dramatic skill. Not until this point is reached are we told why the son should have tried to kill the father—before this, there are only slight hints of a dark and terrible crime. Malefort's end is a fitting consummation of his life. Wrought up to an ex-

treme tension, he addresses these shades. They answer him by signs, but at the question,

Can any penance expiate my guilt,  
Or can repentance save me?

they vanish. With a curse upon his lips against his "cause of being," he is struck dead by a flash of lightning. Only an act of the Supernatural could adequately punish crimes so unnatural.

If we must regret that our modern "delicacy" has banished from the boards any regular performance of Shelley's play, how much more cause have we for regret that no stage manager of to-day would put on *The Unnatural Combat*. In this play, with a better sense of dramatic fitness than either Shelley or Landor has shown, Massinger has delineated the development of one side of this man's nature. He is not here, from the beginning, "the wickedest man on record," as Landor called Cenci,—he becomes so;—it is this change, this struggle, and the defeat of his better nature, that make the tragedy appeal so strongly. The first sight we have of the old sea-dog gives us no hint of what he grows to be. When his irons are struck from his wrists, he bursts out with animal courage and savage ostentation before the Council.

Live I once more  
To see these hands and arms free? These that often,  
In the most dreadful horror of a fight,  
Have been as seamarks to teach such as were  
Seconds in my attempts, to steer between  
The rocks of too much daring and pale fear,  
To reach the port of victory?

• • • • •  
These the legs  
That when our ship were grappled, carried me  
With such swift motion from deck to deck.  
As they that saw it, with amazement cried,  
"He does not run, but flies!"

We catch a first glimpse of the change in Malefort at the

banquet given after his victory over his son. In reply to the toast, "The worthiest of women," he replies,

I will not choose a foreign queen's  
 Nor yet our own; for that would relish of  
 Tame flattery. . . . . but if I,  
 As wine gives liberty, may use my freedom,  
 Not swayed this way or that, with confidence,  
 (And I will make it good on any equal)  
 If it must be to her whose outward form  
 Is bettered by the beauty of her mind,  
 She lives not that with justice can pretend  
 An interest to this so sacred health,  
 But my fair daughter. He that only doubts it  
 I do pronounce a villain: this to her, then. (*Drinks.*)

These oaths and challenges indicate a passionate lover, not a proud father. One almost pities the debased old man, when later, fully recognizing the nature of his passion, he says,

Confirm it rather  
 That this infernal brand, that turns me cinders,  
 Was by the snake-haired sisters thrown into  
 My guilty bosom. . . . .  
 Since my affection (rather wicked lust)  
 That does pursue her, is a greater crime  
 Than any detestation, with which  
 I should afflict her innocence. With what cunning  
 I have betrayed myself. . . . . !

But he ends with the noble resolve,

I will send her back  
 To him that loves her lawfully. Within there!

In answer to his call, Theocrine herself enters, and "all his boasted power of reason leaves him, and passion again usurps her empire." Even his resolve, when carried out later, cannot avail—the man sinks to the lowest depths of self-deceit and cajolery. Excusing his lust by examples of mythological gods and heroes, by man in primitive conditions, and by the lower animals, he returns to demand his daughter of Montreville.

I have played the fool, the gross fool, to believe  
The bosom of a friend will hold a secret  
Mine own could not contain; and my industry  
In taking liberty from my innocent daughter,  
Out of false hopes of freedom to myself,  
Is, in the little help it yields me, punished.  
She's absent, but I have her figure here;  
And every grace and rarity about her  
Are, by the pencil of my memory,  
In living colors painted on my heart.  
My fires, too, a short interim closed up,  
Break out with greater fury. Why was I,  
Since 'twas my fate and not to be declined,  
In this so tender-conscienced? Say I had  
Enjoyed what I desired, what had it been  
But incest? and there's something here that tells me  
I stand accomptable for greater sins  
I never checked at. . . . .

. . . . . Let old men,  
That are not capable of these delights,  
And solemn superstitious fools, prescribe  
Rules to themselves; I will not curb my freedom,  
But constantly go on with this assurance,  
I but walk in a path which greater men  
Have trod before me. Ha! This is the fort.  
Open the gate! Within there!

It is after this speech that the catastrophe of the tragedy comes, as already related.

It was not alone Italian fiction, Italian literature, that furnished England with plots for great plays;<sup>9</sup> real life gave as many and as powerful ones. In fact, the fiction is often not nearly so weird, so strange, as the truth. To a consideration of the true facts of the *Cenci Story* we now pass.

## II. THE REAL CENCI STORY

In contrast with these English poems, in which the characters, no matter how mean and low, are surrounded by the

<sup>9</sup> See lists of M. A. Scott, *Elizabethan Translations from the Italian*, in *Modern Language Publications*, vols. X-XIV (1895-99).

glamor of romance, and delineated in lines of great poetry, are the realistic documents gathered by the care and industry of Signor Bertolotti. On the one hand are poetic ideals; on the other, sordid facts.

If the truth now published be here reproduced, the opinion held concerning Beatrice must be changed. We can no longer regard her as the figure of pure innocent girlhood, committing parricide in defence of her chastity, as depicted by Shelley, Landor, and Massinger. We learn that she was not fourteen or sixteen years old at the time of her execution, but twenty-two.<sup>1</sup> She was not pure, innocent, unsophisticated; but a woman already worldly wise, a woman who had given herself to her lover, and become a mother; a woman not too harshly treated, according to the standards of that day, by her father in sending her to be isolated at Petrella; a woman who was induced as much by hatred of her father for his discovery of her shame, for his punishment of her action, as by his own attempts upon her, to join herself with her brother and a friend to rid all of them of a tyrannical and inexorable ruler. Nor was Guerra, this third conspirator, her lover, as the poets have represented. The difference between her age and his make such a relation unlikely. In addition to this there is a more weighty indication. Beatrice herself at one time appeared in court against Guerra, when he was convicted of stealing from the Cenci household.<sup>2</sup>

Two wills left by Beatrice prove that she had a child who had been entrusted to a nurse without the city.<sup>3</sup> One of these wills was opened September 13, 1599. The second was discovered, still sealed, thirty-five years after the death of Beatrice; though it was opened then, it was not published until two hundred and seventy-eight years after it was made.

Not especially fortunate in his parentage was the father of

<sup>1</sup> Bertolotti, *F. Cenci*, p. 98. Ed. 1879. *Archivo della Basilico di S. Lorenzo in Damaso.*

<sup>2</sup> Bertolotti, p. 99.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 125. Concerning the wills see Iacobino, 1599, fol. 999. Also Bertolotti, p. 134 *seq.*

Beatrice, Francesco Cenci, the man of whom Swinburne writes,<sup>4</sup> "Voici un homme qui commande aux autres hommes par le moyen de leur lâcheté et à Dieu par le moyen de son intérêt. Il a Dieu dans sa poche et l'humanité sous son talon. Il domine tout son monde, ayant pour lui l'or et la religion." Of the father of Francesco, Monsignor Christoforo Cenci, the archives of the Roman States have several notices.<sup>5</sup> He was a cleric of the Camera Apostolica, canon of St. Peter's, treasurer-general of this second, deputy collector of all goods in 1556. He was not a priest, but he had entered holy orders, and as a result controlled the parish of *S. Tommaso al Monte Cencio*.<sup>6</sup> These positions and orders did not prevent him from living with Beatrice Arias by whom he had his son, Francesco, during the time that her husband was still living. Later he had the boy legitimatized, and on his death bed he married the woman, who had by this time become a widow.<sup>7</sup> Besides a vast fortune, Francesco Cenci inherited from his father some traits of disposition and character which the facts just cited clearly enough indicate. From his mother came the few supplementary ones that were necessary to make him the complete man of his kind. In 1562 Signora Arias was accused and convicted of being a thief.<sup>8</sup> At her death in 1574 she bequeathed all her considerable property to her son; an indication of her affection for his father, and of the harmony in which she and he had lived together.<sup>9</sup>

Many errors have been repeated concerning the year of Francesco Cenci's birth. Stendhal names 1527, but the man's own confession in a criminal proceeding shows that the correct year is 1549.<sup>10</sup> When he was no more than eleven years old Francesco caused his name to be written upon the records of

<sup>4</sup> *Studies in Prose and Poetry. Les Cenci.*

<sup>5</sup> Bertolotti, pp. 11-14.

<sup>6</sup> Shelley, *Globe* ed., p. 300.

<sup>7</sup> Bertolotti, p. 410. Notaro A. Peregrinus.

<sup>8</sup> Bertolotti, p. 12. *Liber Investigationum*, 1562.

<sup>9</sup> Bertolotti, p. 14. Notaro Compano, 1573.

<sup>10</sup> Bertolotti, p. 42. *Archivo Criminale*, 1594.

court, for on October 15, 1560, one Quintilio di Vetrella brought suit against him and his master for having been beaten until the blood came.<sup>11</sup> The same lustiness of body and precocious development made him at fourteen the father of a boy, and it was probably to prevent the repetition of such an event that his mother soon after this betrothed him.<sup>12</sup> In 1563 was drawn up the marriage contract between Francesco Cenci and Ersilia Santa Croce, who brought to her youthful husband a *dote* of 5000 *scudi*.<sup>13</sup> With this wife he lived twenty-one years; by her he had twelve children. The oft-repeated tale that Francesco poisoned this woman to marry Lucrezia Petroni, with whom he was enamored, is false, or at least appears so, for after his first wife's death he remained nine years a widower before he married a second time.<sup>14</sup> This is remarked here merely in disproof of a popular error, and not to paint Francesco in fairer colors than befit him, for during all this time he had a mistress, Maria Pelli di Spoleto, who was, in addition the nurse of his sickly son, Paolo.<sup>15</sup>

An excellent illustration of the life of the time might be given if there were reproduced all the escapades we learn of Francesco Cenci. Cross-questioning at a trial in 1567 brought forth the following replies:

During the past year, one month, I don't remember which, we were out for a walk when we met Cesare Cenci who bumped into us. We drew our swords and struck him for touching us.

From his speech I knew he was Cesare Cenci.

I did not know that he was wounded, but four or five days later I heard from Thodesco my man that Cesare had been wounded in the cheek.

There were three of us when he was wounded . . . . and all of us drew our swords against Cesare. I do not know whether he was wounded by my blow or by that of one of the others. It was at about two o'clock in the night. We came away at once, but we did not know what became of Cesare.

<sup>11</sup> Bertolotti, p. 15. *Liber Investigationum*, 1560.

<sup>12</sup> Bertolotti, p. 16. Notaro A. Tusculano, 1563.

<sup>13</sup> A *scudo* is 5 *lire*, the equivalent of 97 cents.

<sup>14</sup> Bertolotti, p. 89. Notaro D. Stella, 1593.

<sup>15</sup> Bertolotti, p. 30. *Archivo Criminale*, 1591.

It is true that I told Marcello S. Croce and others that we had wounded him, because it pleased me—but not before it happened.

Signor, yes, I knew that Marcello was accused of having wounded Cesare, and I know that he then wounded Marcello. This I learned from the Corsican my servant.<sup>16</sup>

This was in 1567. During the succeeding five years he must have been accused of other crimes and convicted of some, for in September, 1572, an order from the Pope liberated him from his own house, where he had been forced to live as a prisoner, to banish him for a term of six months from the Papal States under pain of a fine of 10,000 *scudi*.<sup>17</sup>

The mention of this large sum suggests a consideration of the fortune of the Cenci family. It will be recalled that Francesco was made the heir of both his father and mother. To this inherited fortune he added a great sum gained by himself in practices which are sufficiently indicated by the case to be now cited. Between 1590 and 1595 there sat in the Papal Chair the rigorous Sextus V, who made Cenci submit to several financial sacrifices to preserve his wealth. With open and covert hints concerning his father's marriage, and threats against the validity of his own legitimacy, the Pope imposed upon him a definite charge for "frauds and illicit negotiations." This fine amounted to 25,000 *scudi*.<sup>18</sup> A few more details of this same kind may be added. When Francesco's father died, complications arose which were settled only after the expenditure of more than 30,000 *scudi*. As fines imposed by the Court, he paid at various times 25,000 *scudi*. To escape the consequences of another conviction, Cenci compromised with the payment of 100,000 *scudi*.<sup>19</sup> The account of this last mentioned trial, for sodomy, is not refreshing reading.<sup>20</sup> A process of the same year, 1594, throws a little more light on Cenci's character.

<sup>16</sup> Bertolotti, p. 17. *Archivo Criminale*, 1567.

<sup>17</sup> Bertolotti, p. 21. *Liber Actorum*, 1572.

<sup>18</sup> Bertolotti, p. 28. Notaro S. Penello, 1590.

<sup>19</sup> Bertolotti, pp. 29, 53, 415.

<sup>20</sup> Referred to by Bernardo in the trial, 1599. *Dal Bono*, p. 459.

One of his porters, by name Baldassare, carried to the baker's some grain, which he measured for them, and thereby earned some money. Cenci declared that this money belonged to him as owner of the grain, but Baldassare refused to hand it over. Wounded in both pride and purse, Cenci vowed revenge. One day, not long after the transaction, he was riding in his carriage when he perceived Baldassare. He called to him to return the money.

"I don't have to, the money is mine, I carried the grain."

"You blackguard, dare you answer me like that?" the incensed Cenci cried, and he aimed a swinging blow, which did no more than knock off Baldassare's cap. The furious man sprang from his coach, exclaiming to his servants, "Shoot him!"

As one of the attendants raised his arquebusque to fire Baldassare dodged behind a bystander, and Francesco, in a low voice ordered his man not to pull the trigger. A new thought, a better plan, had come into his mind. After he had hurled a loose rock at the crouching porter, Francesco entered his carriage and drove away.

That same evening, Cenci, accompanied by four men, his steward and three servants, all armed, drove up to the house of Baldassare, just as the *Ave Maria* was sounding. But they had no thoughts for prayers. A gruff order was given to the steward. He disappeared within the grounds. A few minutes later, the waiting party heard the rustling of the bushes, some lusty blows, the cries of a punished man. The steward returned. "I gave him four," he muttered. Then he took his place in the carriage; the party moved off.

Not long after this, Francesco Cenci faced a charge of shooting Baldassare. He explained the circumstances; he had ordered his man to give his deceiving carrier four blows. The answers to the lawyer's questions follow.

"No, he had not done anything more. Yes, all were armed; but he had heard no shot, only the cries of the beaten man. Had there been a shot, he had not heard it, therefore none

could have been fired. No, he would not have risked losing his goods for a thing of this kind."

After six days of investigation, rather unsatisfactory, it appears he repeated his earlier account.

"I confirm what I have said. I did not order the shot, but I did command the beating."<sup>21</sup>

A score of other incidents can be built up out of these accounts, all helping to delineate the extraordinary character of this man. He struck his servants—that was usual—not one of them thought of mentioning such a trivial matter as that unless questioned about it by a lawyer during a trial in court. He abused his mistress repeatedly; but she appeared to give testimony against him unwillingly. The Cenci of real life seems to have been one of those men that the Scotch term "magerful;" the description of Malefort by Massinger applies equally well to Francesco Cenci.

I have known him  
From his first youth, but never yet observed,  
In all the passages of his life and fortunes,  
Virtues so mixed with vices; valiant the world speaks him,  
But with that bloody; liberal in his gifts too,  
But to maintain his prodigal expense,  
A fierce extortioner; an impotent lover  
Of women for a flash; but his fires quenched,  
Hating as deadly.<sup>22</sup>

It must have been a man such as this who could induce Lucrezia Petroni (widow of Velli) to marry him, as she did in November, 1593.<sup>23</sup> With this woman in the family, there are brought together all the actors who played large or minor *rôles* in the events of the next five years—events that culminated in the murder of the father, the execution of wife, son, and daughter, the downfall and utter ruin of the once powerful and all-feared Cenci family. In addition to the head of the family and his wife, the persons who took part are Giacomo,

<sup>21</sup> Bertolotti, p. 34 *seq.* *Archivo Criminale*, 1594.

<sup>22</sup> Massinger, *The Unnatural Combat*, III, 2.

<sup>23</sup> Bertolotti, p. 89. Notaro D. Stella, 1593.

the oldest son; Christoforo; Rocco; Bernardo; the sickly Paolo; and the daughters, Antonia and Beatrice.

It is impossible to include here all the known facts concerning the members of the family, but as the relation between the oldest son and his father is of importance, some of the information concerning them must be inserted. To this may be added a few details to show how a great family lived in Italy during the years between 1550 and 1625; a period when conditions were such that one of the proverbs in far-away England was, *Inglese Italianato e Diavolo incarnato*.

At first Giacomo had his father's confidence to such an extent that he was made his attorney. But he abused the trust reposed in him, and more galling still, took unto himself a wife without his father's consent. Then Francesco made the will in which his oldest son was cut off with no more than the law accorded him, plus one hundred *scudi* in gold.<sup>24</sup> The father was treated by his sons as he himself treated others. He allowed each of the first three sons thirty *scudi* a month, while they were spending twice that amount. They made up deficiencies, when they were compelled to, by borrowing in their father's name, by keeping moneys advanced to them to deliver to others, by falsifying, and by direct stealing.<sup>25</sup> In 1594, while the father was in prison, Giacomo again took charge of the household, but again he so used the chances to advance his own interests that in 1595 the father had the son imprisoned, accusing him, among other things, of an attempt at poisoning. Later Giacomo confessed that he had forged a document which inflicted a loss of 13,000 *scudi* upon his father.<sup>26</sup>

“Overbearing, impassioned, angry, nocturnal disturber of the peace,” are the expressions Signor Bertolotti applied to Rocco, the third son, whom he also calls “the worst of all the evil-born Cenci family.” In truth the inherent wickedness of

<sup>24</sup> See the will, quoted by Dal Bono, p. 429.

<sup>25</sup> Bertolotti, pp. 57-58. Notaro D. Stella, 1587. Notaro Panizza, 1594.

<sup>26</sup> Bertolotti, p. 63. *Liber Testium ad Defensionem*, 1594. For the examination of another accusation of attempted patricide *v. Bertolotti*, p. 60. *Liber Testium ad Defensionem*, 1594-95.

the stock is displayed to perfection in this lad, who was murdered in 1595 by a bastard son of the Conte di Pitigliano, not by a pork butcher, as has been often said.<sup>27</sup> Rocco's intimate friend was Guerra, who later played an important part in the murder of Francesco. In 1594 the two companions were tried on a charge of robbing the Cenci house of clothes, and at the trial Beatrice testified against both the accused.<sup>28</sup> The following incident illustrates another phase of Rocco's wildness. On the second day of August, 1592, Rocco was looking out of the window, no doubt chafing that the warm day was going so slowly, or wondering what he might do to kill time. Chance favored him; a few sailors and fishermen came sauntering along. The peculiar gait of mariners who have not yet rid themselves of their "sea-legs" attracted him, and into his head popped the desire to make them run. The idea was carried out at once. With two lackeys, he tried to hurry the fishermen along, goading them on with his sword. One of them he wounded, "especially in the leg." The imagination can picture the scene. That afternoon's sport cost him, or rather, his father, 5000 *scudi* for himself, and 200 *scudi* for each of the servants.<sup>29</sup> After this, Rocco was sent off to Padua, perhaps to the University, from which place he sent a petition to the Pope asking if he might return, for he had not "*quid dare denti.*"<sup>30</sup> This is doubtless the germ of the tale that Francesco Cenci sent his two sons off to Salamanca, where he left them without provision in the hope that they might die. It will be recalled that Shelley makes much of this in the banquet scene of his tragedy.

Paolo, the youngest son, was sickly. Shortly after the crime of 1598, he died, probably of consumption. The son Bernardo will be seen again when the trial of the conspirators is taken up. He it was that escaped the death sentence; his respite he

<sup>27</sup> Bertolotti, p. 80 *seq.*

<sup>28</sup> Bertolotti, p. 75. *Protocollo Criminale*, 1593.

<sup>29</sup> Bertolotti, p. 73. *Liber Sententiarum*, 1592.

<sup>30</sup> Bertolotti, p. 74. *Liber Actorum*, 1593. *Liber Fideius*, 1592.

owed to the energetic efforts of the lawyer Farinaccio, who secured consideration for this one of his clients by representing him as a foolish imbecile.<sup>31</sup> This he decidedly was not, as we may infer from his acute answers during the trial of his father for nefarious practices. He was his father's favorite, much in his company, and received all the effects of a personal acquaintance with the worst villainy and with an example of the most unbridled living.

There are some opinions concerning the daughters to be corrected. Beatrice, the second daughter receives the larger share of attention from writers, but the older sister, Antonia, also has her place in the story, probably as a contrast with the younger, more unfortunate girl. Muratori relates how Antonia saved herself from the cruelty of her father by presenting a petition to the Pope, who thereupon forced Cenci to find her a husband. Continuing, this annalist declares that Beatrice tried the same method, but that her petition was never answered, and that it was brought to light only during her trial for murder.<sup>32</sup> Signor Bertolotti doubts this story, for he was not able to find these petitions. However, this failure of discovery does not prove anything. The facts of the marriage of Antonia are these. In January, 1595, she was married to Luzio Savelli. It seems that her father was present to confirm the *dote* of 20,000 *scudi*, in consideration of which the twenty-two-year-old bride renounced all claims to any share of the paternal bequests.<sup>33</sup> She died after a short married life, but without issue; in consequence, the remaining heirs of the Cenci family in 1598 brought suit against Savelli to recover the *dote*.<sup>34</sup>

Beatrice is the one member of this unfortunate family for whom genuine sympathy has always been aroused. The story told of her is an affecting one. Everyone who reads has learned

<sup>31</sup> Bertolotti, p. 87. Farinaccio, *Consilia*, no. 884. Ven. 1616.

<sup>32</sup> Muratori, *Annali*, 1599.

<sup>33</sup> Bertolotti, p. 92. Notaro Stella, 1595.

<sup>34</sup> Bertolotti, pp. 105, 422.

that she was an angel of youth and beauty, loved platonically by the family's friend, Signor Guerra, and that she was beheaded in her sixteenth year. It may be surprising that a mere girl could do the things Beatrice is represented as doing,—could plan and carry out a murder, could silence a hardened criminal by a mere look, and by her brave behavior almost save herself and her accomplices from condemnation. It is surprising that a girl could do this, even in Italy, that land of sixteen-year-old Romeos and fourteen-year-old Juliets. It would be pleasant to think of her as a mere child, but the facts will not allow us to hold any such opinion. The record of the birth of Beatrice is dated February 12, 1577.<sup>35</sup> She was therefore twenty-two years old at her death. The older sister, Antonia, was still unmarried at twenty-two. This is a late age for a noble Italian young woman to be married. It may be conjectured that Antonia did not attract suitors, that she was not handsome, for the famous picture of Beatrice proves nothing about the family features, since its authenticity is disputed. Beatrice herself may not have been handsome. These suggestions are no more than conjectures, and prove nothing. If Beatrice was not married before she reached her twentieth year, a reason can be suggested that has all the weight of probability. This reason will be given later.

Was the real Beatrice in love with a young man, who, being a cleric, must doff his habit before he could marry her? She may have had such a "servant," but judging from the facts we cannot say that this lover was Guerra.

In 1594 Beatrice's brother, Rocco, and this man Guerra, were indicted for stealing clothes from the Cenci household, for the articles were missed after the departure of these two. At the trial Antonia and Paolo Cenci believed that Guerra was implicated, because in one of the rooms had been found a hat identified as his. Not only was Beatrice certain that this cap and a sword that was also found, belonged to Guerra, but she

<sup>35</sup> Bertolotti, p. 98. *Archivo della Basilica di S. Lorenzo in Damaso.*

added, "I believe that Monsignor Mario Guerra aided in stealing and carrying away the clothes. I need say no more, but I believe this whole plan and deed were invented by this Guerra. And this I declare for truth."<sup>36</sup> Such language does not support the opinion that Guerra was the accepted lover of Beatrice.

Deserting now almost entirely the order followed in the documents collected by Signor Bertolotti, let us try, using them as the framework, to reconstruct the events of 1598 and 1599.

At the former date, the unhappy Giacomo was in worse straits than ever. His rapidly growing family, increasing in both years and numbers, needed his support, even if it did not awaken in him any great affection. Applications were made to his father in vain. Nor could he borrow, at even the highest rate, any money on his inheritance. He knew, and the money-lenders also knew, how little his father's will would bring him. His underhand methods of securing funds had been discovered and stopped. He recalled how, when in jail accused by his father of attempted poisoning, a score of friends and defenders had aided him. How different had matters been when his father had been in prison;—not a hand was lifted to help *him*, nor a voice was raised in *his* defence, except those bought at the highest prices. What if his father should be killed;—could it not happen in a way to avert suspicion? Were not crimes being perpetrated daily for which no one suffered? His father's death would mean two things very dear to Giacomo's heart, revenge and money. He knew he could secure funds from his younger brothers; he might even become their guardian.<sup>37</sup> Whom could he secure to second him? Beatrice. She did not love her tyrant father. Was she not suffering under his wrath at her amatory escapade? Even then she was locked in her rooms to prevent her from seeing her lover, who, it was already suspected, had made her his mistress.<sup>38</sup> The jealous Lucrezia

<sup>36</sup> Bertolotti, p. 75 *seq.* *Protocollo Criminale*, 1593–4.

<sup>37</sup> This he did become later. V. Bertolotti, p. 104. Notaro Bruto, 1598, fol. 10.

<sup>38</sup> V. the wills of Beatrice. Bertolotti, p. 126 *seq.*

would be a weak tool, tired as she had become of living with a man who wounded her with his blows and outraged her feelings with acknowledged concubines. And his brothers? What would deter them, already familiar as they were with vice, from becoming abettors of a single lunge with a dagger which would bring to them a fortune in ready money? Was it not worth trying? Not only was it possible; the fates seemed to invite it. The death could happen at Rocca di Petrella, outside the Papal States and therefore beyond their jurisdiction. Not much persuasion can have been needed to have induced the others to join with him. One man willing to kill for money Giacomo already had in his service; the second was soon secured by his friend Guerra. These two assassins were Olimpio Calvetti and Marzio de Fiorani, *alias* Catalano.

The opportunity was not long in coming, as Francesco Cenci went to spend the summer months of 1598 at La Petrella. On the evening of September 9 the two assassins, Marzio and Olimpio, were introduced into the house. Next morning the torn, lacerated body of Cenci was found in an adjoining ravine; he had fallen from a window, or from a balcony.<sup>39</sup> So it was reported and generally believed. Apparently no one suspected anything. The body was buried; the family returned to Rome. But their security was merely temporary. One man, Marzio Colonna, the lord of Petrella, suspected crime. In a quiet way he declared his suspicions to the authorities at Naples, and these in December, 1598, reported the case to Rome.

The Roman authorities did not proceed at once against the Cenci. The officers at Naples were more diligent; they declared the suspects, Marzio and Olimpio, outlaws.<sup>40</sup> Rewards were offered for these two men, dead or alive. Three men, one

<sup>39</sup> See the examination of Bernardo, Jan. 16, 1599, in Dal Bono, p. 440.

<sup>40</sup> First steps were taken at Petrella, where several inmates of the Cenci household were examined. Bertolotti, p. 223. *Summarium Indiciorum. Incoatur processus ad denunciam secreti Instigatoris . . . . 1598*, fol. 1 *seq.* For action of officials at Naples in reporting the case to Rome see Bertolotti, p. 107, citing Archives at Naples, Dec. 10, 1598.

of whom was Giacomo Cenci's steward, set out to secure this money. They may have been prompted by Giacomo himself for he would be safer if his two accomplices were dead. The instigator of this part of the plot can not be designated with certainty; but the plan was successful. These three men, all friends of Olimpio's, joined him, and journeyed with him towards Anticoli, where he expected to meet his wife. But they murdered him, as one of them testified later, "at dawn at the inn at Cantalice within the Kingdom, May 17, 1599."<sup>41</sup> When two of them presented themselves at Naples to claim the reward, they were subjected to an examination which strengthened the suspicion against the Cenci. But they were mere suspicions; even the flight of Guerra proved nothing. It was the capture of the second assassin, Marzio, that turned suspicion to what was almost certainty, for this Marzio made a confession in Rome that rendered necessary the trial of the remaining members of the Cenci family.<sup>42</sup>

The wife Lucrezia, Beatrice, Giacomo, and Bernardo were arrested; and by the beginning of 1599 they were all in prison. From this time until their execution they occupied successively cells in three prisons, Torre Nona, Savelli, and Castel S. Angelo. They made such impressions of innocence upon their jailors that these latter advanced money, never expecting any sentence other than acquittal. Subsequently these poor deluded prison attendants made pleas to the Pope that they might be reimbursed from the confiscated estate of the Cenci.<sup>43</sup>

It was in prison that Beatrice made her will, with its provision for the marriage portions of poor girls. An idea of the life of this unfortunate woman may be gleaned from the draft which was made public, and the secret codicil which was handed to a lawyer, not to be opened until after her death. The first of these makes a bequest to a nurse for the care of *quella persona*, a phrase that was used wittingly because of its ambi-

<sup>41</sup> Bertolotti, p. 109 *seq.* Archives at Naples, May 13, 1600.

<sup>42</sup> Bertolotti, p. 111. Archives at Rome, 1601. In this document the man who captured Marzio asks for some recognition of his services.

<sup>43</sup> Bertolotti, p. 116. *Registro Depositeria Pontificia*, 1600, fol. 22.

guity; for the secret codicil contains this same provision, this time for a *fanciullo* (her son), clearly proving that, though Beatrice was unhappy, she was none the less a sinner.<sup>44</sup>

The trial of the prisoners proceeded swiftly.<sup>45</sup> The Pope was so incensed at the enormity of their crime that he imprisoned an advocate who interceded for them. *Giorgio Diedi avocato dopo l'haver parlato con V. Santita per la causa de Cenci e stato carcerato d'ordine di Monsignor Gouvernatoare, etc.*<sup>46</sup>

Finally, however, Farinaccio,<sup>47</sup> the greatest lawyer of the day, secured permission to defend the accused. To save their lives he would have made it appear that Beatrice was the victim of her father's inordinate desires,<sup>48</sup> but his pleading and reasoning availed him nothing in her case.<sup>49</sup> The best he could do was to have the death sentence passed on the young Bernardo remitted. The Pope directed the municipal judge, Ulisse Moscati, to proceed with all measures to wring from the accused a confession.<sup>50</sup> It was only after torture had been used on all the accused that enough evidence was secured to warrant conviction.

Justice was swift; all was over by September 11, 1599.<sup>51</sup> The sentence pronounced against the four principal criminals is comprehensive; it covers six octavo pages. In the sharpest and most direct terms, it reviews the facts of the crime, comments on its unnaturalness, and then describes in detail the mode of execution to be carried out. The following is a translation of part of the document.

They should be condemned, and by these presents we do condemn these and each one of them to the following pains, that is:

<sup>44</sup> Bertolotti, p. 126. Notaro Gentili. Notaro Iacobino, 1599, fol. 999. Bertolotti, p. 134.

<sup>45</sup> For an account of the trial with details of the torture, etc., *v. Dal Bono*, p. 264 *seq.*

<sup>46</sup> Bertolotti, p. 125.

<sup>47</sup> Clement VIII said of him, *Buona farina, ma cattivo sacco*. Bertolotti, p. 203.

<sup>48</sup> See his opinion, quoted by Dal Bono, p. 472.

<sup>49</sup> Bertolotti, p. 141. Torrigiani also discusses this part of the trial.

<sup>50</sup> Dal Bono, p. 177.

<sup>51</sup> Bertolotti, p. 264. Dispatch of Mocenigo, Ambassador from Venice.

Giacomo Cenci above mentioned to the pain of the last suffering and of natural death; that he shall be conducted and is to be conducted in a cart through the city to the usual place of justice, and there with burning pincers be torn, and there, by an agent deputed for this, first be struck on the head so that he shall die, and his soul be separated from his body, which shall then be torn into pieces and displayed upon the platform. Likewise Beatrice Cenci and Lucrezia Petronia before mentioned, we condemn and desire and order that they shall be delivered as guilty to the pain of the last suffering and of natural death in this manner; as is usual they shall be conducted to the same place of justice, each one of them, and here, by the aforesaid agent, shall be the head of each one and all of them cut from the trunk, so that all and everyone of them shall die, and the soul of each and the souls of all shall separate and be separated from the body and the bodies; finally, as to Bernardo . . . . as he should be condemned, so we do condemn him, and we desire and order that he be held as condemned; he shall be and is to be conducted on the cart as the others to the place of justice; and here he shall remain until there have been done to death as before ordered by the aforesaid, the aforesaid Giacomo, etc. Afterwards he shall be reconducted to prison, where he shall remain one year in closest confinement, whence he shall be transferred to the galleys, where he shall remain perpetually that life may be to him a punishment and death a release.

Nothing could be more diabolically cruel than this last provision—to make an eighteen-year-old boy witness the deaths of his mother, sister, and brother. Further on, the sentence contains the decree of confiscation of all the worldly goods of the Cenci family.<sup>52</sup> Everything they owned was seized for the church. This fact has been denied by many writers. Even the otherwise fair-minded Torrigiani denies the possibility of this being done, declaring that it was against the law. He forgets that as Louis XIV *fût l'état*, so any strong Pope was a law unto himself and all his dominions.

The sentence was carried out on Saturday, September 11. Public sympathy had been with the accused from the beginning of the trial. As we have seen, even their jailors had advanced them money for expenses, never imagining that these attractive and interesting members of an old and wealthy family

<sup>52</sup> Bertolotti, p. 201. All the creditors of the Cenci family were paid from the treasury. *Editto nelle Cause de' Cenci*, 1599.

would be convicted. These men may have been actuated by cupidity; but their actions indicate the nature of public opinion. Signs of the same feeling were displayed at the scene of execution, for though authoritative documents concerning the attitude of the spectators at the execution are lacking, there are some mentions of the public sentiment in contemporary papers, and the memory of this sentiment lasted down to the time of Muratori (1744). Clement VIII issued a *motu proprio* dated September 11, 1600, forbidding the publishing and circulation of pamphlets containing material dealing with the Cenci trial.<sup>53</sup> There must have been some support at large for the charges made against the Pope. Powerful as had Clement been in his life-time, thorough as had been his search after crime and his punishment of it, his harshness and his avariciousness prevented him from being popular during his life or after his death. The great body of the people, although moved by the events of the Cenci tragedy, in all probability would have allowed the circumstances to fade from memory; but any such forgetfulness was prevented. The family of Francesco Cenci was not the only branch that bore the name. There was a line of collateral relatives to which part of the great estate of the Cenci family should have reverted. But the same decree that made expectations possible, rendered them hopeless. Not a *scudo* of all that wealth belonged to the heirs of the Cenci; it belonged to the Holy Church. The spectacle of a family, one of whom is a young attractive girl, mounting the scaffold, must create in the onlooking crowd a revulsion of feeling in favor of the victims; but that would pass. The other motive of resentment, however, endured. Hardly had Pope Clement died when the cry went up from these disappointed relatives, "*Li hanno spogliati.*" And from this beginning, with romantic additions that quite overshadowed the repulsive facts, grew the Cenci story of literature.

We should not be surprised at the difference between the

<sup>53</sup> Dal Bono, p. 487.

facts as known in 1600 and the version by Shelley. Every literary story based on history goes through just such changes. It is not difficult to find examples. One of the best illustrations is the story of Parisina.<sup>54</sup> The Marquis of Este punished his beautiful young wife and his illegitimate son, Hugo, for a love he suspected they felt for each other. To-day there is just as much doubt of their guilt as must have assailed the surviving father and husband after he had endeavored to sweep doubts aside by beheading wife and son.<sup>55</sup>

After all the gruesome facts of the Cenci story, can we find in our hearts any plea for Beatrice, any excuse for the children? After we have taken everything into consideration, we are almost completely induced to subscribe to the opinion of Swinburne.

Il y aura, toujours, comme il y a toujours eu, des êtres humains envers lesquelles l'humanité n'a qu'un seul devoir, les supprimer, les exterminer, les anéantir; sinon de par la loi, de par l'arrêt de la conscience universelle. Ayant en elle cette foi profonde, Béatrice rend à l'enfer ce qui est à l'enfer,—l'âme du comte François Cenci.<sup>56</sup>

These events of the history of the Cenci family could be cast into a great novel, but the one man who could deal with them adequately is dead. In such a story as these true events would make, Émile Zola would be in his element. Where in all this terrible history is there a ray of brightness, a breath of gentleness, a wish for betterment, a striving for happiness? In only one circumstance, in the love of Beatrice; but even that affection was degrading if its object was Olimpio, the hired assassin, as has been suggested, and even were it not he, many people would condemn Beatrice for her too easy compliance, for her worldly dishonor; and again, it is about this one possibly bright spot that we know least.

<sup>54</sup> See the two versions: Byron, *Parisina*; and Dom Tumiati in *Nuova Antologia*, September, 1901.

<sup>55</sup> V. Gibbon, *Miscellaneous Works*, III, 470.

<sup>56</sup> Swinburne, *Studies in Prose and Poetry. Les Cenci*.

# FUNCTION AND CONTENT OF THE PROLOGUE, CHORUS, AND OTHER NON-ORGANIC ELEMENTS IN ENGLISH DRAMA, FROM THE BEGINNINGS TO 1642

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## I. INTRODUCTION

**Definition of Terms.**—Ultimate Mediaeval Origins of Prologue, Chorus, and Epilogue.—Their History in Pre-Renaissance Drama.

Non-organic or extraneous portions of drama are those parts which are presented with the drama, but which have no logical share in its story. Inasmuch as the great bulk of English drama in the period under discussion is so full of incoherencies and technical faults as to contain, in the course of its dialogue, innumerable passages which meet the requirements of the definition as thus far given, it must be stated further that, for the purposes of this essay, non-organic or extraneous parts are those that are formally distinct from the dramatic sequence of the dialogue. These parts naturally differ in function. They are directly referential to the play when serving to introduce and explain it; indirectly so when the audience needs persuasion or apology, or the author an outlet for personal or critical comment. Specifically, they are prologues, epilogues, choruses, intermeans, inductions, dedications, and addresses of one sort or another. Since they share the prevalent uncertainty of dramatic form, they are sometimes dramatic, sometimes not so. Some of them, as prologue, epilogue, and chorus, belong primarily to the spoken drama; some, as epistles and other addresses, form no part of the staged play. Prologues, addresses of all sorts, and inductions have, in general, an introductory function—to arouse interest, to explain, to please. The chorus,

occupying a medial position, functions largely as an interested spectator of the action with power of comment, and hence admits of more interpretation than can be compressed into a formula. The epilogue, coming at the end of the main action, possesses all the variety and potentiality of "the last word," although actually inferior to the prologue in range of subject-matter and variety of form.

The beginnings of the non-organic or extraneous portions of modern drama are as old as the beginnings of the drama proper, and their sources are much the same: the dramatic representations of mediaeval church liturgy; the farce of the Roman *mimus* and his successors; the folk-play to some extent; and the classical revivals of humanism. Of all these sources, the church liturgy is most important in a study of the extraneities of drama. The ultimate origins of prologue, chorus, and epilogue are the priest and the *Te Deum* or the *Magnificat* of the mediaeval church service—agencies far less alike in character and function than are the products of their literary evolution. It is unnecessary to repeat in detail the well-known facts relating to the liturgical origins of drama; it is enough to say that liturgical services dramatically expanded were habitually concluded with the *Te Deum*, although the *Magnificat* and other musical endings were sometimes substituted;<sup>1</sup> and that the function of the priest was habitually that of provider and expositor of the scene or scenes, and occasionally that of actor in them. It needs no straining of imagination to see that the priest would naturally say a few words about the play to be presented, and that he would interrupt it from time to time to make its meaning clear or to point its moral. Here is evidently some, if not sufficient, impetus toward the development of prologue and chorus. As for the epilogue—what was it but the expression in words of the significance of the *Te Deum*: that the representation had come to an end and that it had been offered for the

<sup>1</sup> Such a statement implies that the liturgical drama generally occurred after matins, sometimes after vespers, and now and then at other hours. Cf. Chambers, *De Julleville, etc., etc.*

glory of God and for the salvation of men? Just such verbal acknowledgments constitute many of the early epilogues.<sup>2</sup> Others, obviously of Latin provenience, are mere requests for a *plaudite*.<sup>3</sup> The continuance of classical influence needs no proof, slight as its traces often are. Concerning the *parade* of the *mimus* or buffoon, cited<sup>4</sup> as a possible origin of some early prologues, the evidence seems to point quite as much away from the mime as towards him. This *parade*, consisting in the self-advertisement of the mime and the boast of his proficiency, may have suggested those familiar prologues which seem to anticipate the colloquialism of Plautus;<sup>5</sup> yet when it is remembered that the *naïveté* of *Deus Pater* and the familiarities of Herod in the English cycle plays are identical with the talk of personages in the *Sword* and *St. George* plays, it seems unnecessary to look for other originals than the "smart Alecs" of every village community.

As time passed and the stories of the birth and resurrection of Jesus became inadequate for the purposes of the clergy, larger and larger portions of the Bible were dramatized. These new narratives contained personages whose expository functions necessarily encroached upon those of the priest.<sup>6</sup> Indeed, the priest was at first an unrepresented expositor, for these other characters alone had part in the action. It was only after the pseudo-Augustine had delivered his famous sermon on the prophets, and the entire mediaeval church had given it dramatic representation in various versions of *Prophetae*, that the priest had really any formal and necessary share in the individual drama. But the part that he then took has never wholly disappeared from English drama; it is the name of the functionary only, not of the function, that has been lost. "What,"

<sup>2</sup> York XII, Digby *Mind, Will and Understanding*, Brome *Abraham and Isaac*, *Castle of Perseverance*, *Mankind*, *Youth*, etc., etc.

<sup>3</sup> *Gammer Gurton*, *Gascoigne's Supposes*, etc.

<sup>4</sup> Chambers, I, 85.

<sup>5</sup> For example, the opening speeches of Mundus, Belyal, and Caro in *The Castle of Perseverance*.

<sup>6</sup> *E.g.*, *Wise Men*, *Angelus*, *Prophets*, etc., etc.

says Mr. Chambers, "are the *Expositor* of the *Ludus Coventriæ*, the *Doctor* of the Brome play, or even *Baleus Prolocutor* himself, but the lineal descendants . . . of the priest who read the pseudo-Augustinian *lectio* from which the *Prophetæ sprang?*"<sup>7</sup> And what, it may further be asked, is the modern prologue but the lineal descendant of *Baleus Prolocutor*? For if it be granted that the extraneous parts of drama owed tremendous debt to Renaissance influences, it must equally be admitted that their original inspiration seems traceable to a time much anterior to that of the Renaissance. Although the extraneous origin of the prologue has been indicated, it should be noted that the prologue-speaker, like his ghostly prototype of pre-renaissance times, was sometimes absorbed into the play.<sup>8</sup> He shifted, not his function, but his place, because the artificers of early drama were very primitive technicians.

When one passes from a consideration of liturgical drama to a study of the English miracle plays, one must admit that there appears to be, at least in the oldest examples, but little development of these non-organic elements. The drama as a whole is more elaborate, but the form is no more mature than it was earlier. The cosmic type of this drama presents, however, a number of instances in which one part of the dramatized narrative more or less complete in itself leads into or introduces a larger drama. Sometimes this induction and the drama that it introduces are separate representations;<sup>9</sup> sometimes they form but one representation,<sup>10</sup> distinguished by grouping of character or by treatment of material, or by both. There seems to be no consciousness in the playwright of any difference of relation between two dramas of which one is directly introductory, and between two dramas that lack such association.

In the York cycle, there is little place for an extraneous ele-

<sup>7</sup> Chambers, II, 148.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. liturgical drama of 13th century as exemplified in Du Méril, pages 89, 91, 94, etc.

<sup>9</sup> York VIII and IX, Coventry VII and VIII, as representative of many others.

<sup>10</sup> York XX.

ment of the *Baleus Prolocutor* type; its vogue came with the advent of a didactic intention extrinsic to the Bible story. With the development of this didactic purpose, the extraneous parts of drama necessarily became more prominent, for it was inevitable that the moral should outrank the story at this primitive stage of English dramatic technique. But this prominence is not, at first, in respect to form.<sup>11</sup> Extraneities become formal as the reforming spirit of the age increases and as Moralities come to surpass the Cycles in popular appeal. Yet here, though formal, they are often not extraneous,<sup>12</sup> because the entire fabric of the representation is didactic—sadly unsuited to the dramatic purpose which it subserves.

In the sense, then, of the definition, pre-renaissance English drama has very few non-organic and extraneous parts. Here and there a *Prologus* is formally denominated,<sup>13</sup> but not logically severed from the representation; occasionally, *Contemplacio* or *Expositor* is really represented as extraneous. In the main, the extraneous elements of English drama attain formal existence only after the Renaissance. The drama as a whole has vigor and variety, but the extraneous elements are still in solution, awaiting the power of classical influence to give them definite shape. To say that the Renaissance gave the idea of these extraneities to English playwrights is less accurate than to say that it gave the forms in which the ideas could be cast, and that it indicated a more effective arrangement. If it had afforded fewer examples of formal extraneity, this idea of form might have been less handicapping. The ensuing discussion will perhaps show the sense in which this assertion is true.

## II. THE CHORUS

History of the Chorus between 1562 and 1611.—Its Character and Function.—(a) *Chorus Material in Classical Form*.—Chorus and Dumbshow.—The Chorus classical in various ways.—History of the Classical Chorus from

<sup>11</sup> Cf. *York VI, IX, XI, etc., etc.*

<sup>12</sup> Cf. Pity as prologue in *Hickscorner, Courtly Abusion in Magnificence, etc.*

<sup>13</sup> Cf. *York XII and Pride of Life*.

*Gorboduc* to the work of Jasper Fisher.—(b) *Chorus Material in Non-Classical Form*.—Typical of English Dramatic Tendencies.—History from *Love and Fortune* to the work of Thomas Randolph.—Summary.

The quick growth of the chorus, its temporary vogue, and the rapidity with which it was discarded, make it one of the most conspicuous phenomena in post-renaissance drama, and therefore justify the assignment to it of first place in a discussion of the effects of the Renaissance upon English drama.

Facts seem to imply that the chorus was adopted by English playwrights not so much on account of its merits as a chorus as on account of its prominence in the tragedies of Seneca that had recently become so generally interesting to English writers. The popular notion of Seneca among Englishmen was originally due, not to an immediate interpretation of the Latin original, but to the enthusiastic adaptation of an Italian conception,<sup>1</sup> for it was Italy that had raised Seneca to be "the arbiter of tragic usage and the model of tragic style." This eminent position was due partly to the power of Italy to set a literary fashion, but more to Seneca's romanticism, rhetoric, sententiousness, and general modernness.<sup>2</sup> Englishmen translated his plays before they imitated his characteristics. By an interesting paradox, they showed great independence in their handling of these translations. The scholar-gentlemen of the Inner Temple who translated the *Tenne Tragedies* between 1559 and 1581, omitted some choruses on the ground that they were uninteresting and unnecessary, and added passages of their own composition when these seemed needed for the gratification of translator or reader.<sup>3</sup> Such independence is proof neither of the inorganic character of the Senecan chorus nor yet of what Dr. Fischer terms the slavish dependence of English dramatists upon Seneca;<sup>4</sup> it is rather evidence of the essential freedom of English dramatists under the force of a powerful influence, and sufficiently marks the presence of one

<sup>1</sup> *Cambridge History*, V, 69.

<sup>2</sup> Schelling's *Elizabethan Drama*, I, 96.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. prefaces to individual plays in the collection.

<sup>4</sup> Fischer's *Kunstentwicklung*, 25.

of the principles which necessitated the short life of the English chorus.

Although the formal chorus first came into English drama in this translation of the Senecan tragedies,<sup>5</sup> it did not reach the public stage until the gentlemen of Gray's Inn presented *Gorboduc* in 1562. The half-century after this date marks the period when the chorus had its vogue. In 1611, Jonson's *Catiline* practically closed the period, though choruses occur at rare intervals from that time until 1640, when Sandys's *Christ's Passion* offered apparently the last belated instance of the form. Although anything like exact statistical statement in this matter would be hazardous, if not impossible, the verification of any good play-list<sup>6</sup> justifies the assertion that the dramas which have choruses not only fall within a limited period, but do not begin to constitute the entire dramatic output of that time. Causes for this state of affairs are found in the essentially popular appeal of the English stage and in the fact that what Englishmen liked in Seneca was not his form, which was sufficiently classical, but his popular qualities, which exactly met the need of the moment.<sup>7</sup> Even learned playwrights, as Preston and Edwards, who might have followed Gascoigne's example and treated their themes in the classical manner, gave up the effort to secure classic purity of form and submitted wholly to the popular influence in drama.<sup>8</sup> What the knowing authors of *Cambises* and of *Damon and Pithias* did deliberately, the less well educated playwrights did inevitably. The well-established tendencies of English drama away from rigid forms and hard-and-fast rules, and the existing facts in regard to the

<sup>5</sup> Creizenach, IV, 464, notes that before 1558 Queen Elizabeth translated into blank verse the second chorus of *Hercules Oetaeus* and that, consequently, she, and not the composers of *Gorboduc*, should have the fame of having first applied this metre to drama, notwithstanding the fact that her attempt was not fully satisfactory and not intended for publicity. This chorus is reprinted in *Anglia* XIV, for the year 1892.

<sup>6</sup> Such as those in (a) F. E. Schelling's *Elizabethan Drama*, II, 538-624; (b) *The Cambridge History of English Literature*, bibliography to vols. V and VI.

<sup>7</sup> Cf. parallel passages in Cunliffe's *Influence of Seneca on Elizabethan Tragedy, passim*.

<sup>8</sup> Creizenach, II, 473.

use of the chorus—which rather illustrate such tendencies than indicate others—favor the conclusion that in English drama before 1642 the chorus is ephemeral and infrequent. Nor need this statement, certainly valid for English drama in the entire time, be greatly qualified for the period during which the chorus was a frequent device; for among extant plays, those with choruses are many times less in number than those without, even when, as in this discussion, the term chorus is used to mean whatever comes between acts. There is no reason to suppose that the proportion in the lost plays would greatly modify these conclusions if it could be known; nor need considerations of comparative excellence in plays with choruses and plays without them invalidate the general conclusion. The data accessible thus go to show that in these fifty years (1562-1611) all the mediocre tragedies and most of the important ones have choruses,<sup>9</sup> and that other kinds of drama also come in for their share of choric additions. The chorus itself, to meet this exigency, shows not only classical types but also popular types: that is, choruses obviously determined not by rule or precedent, but by the author's desire to increase the general interest of his play. Such choruses are free from even nominal reliance upon classical models.

The character and function of the chorus are broadly indicated by saying that it is the visible bond between drama and public. Greek and Latin dramatists so understood it; English dramatists enlarged the same idea and used the chorus in ways undreamed-of by their classical predecessors. The employment of the chorus as narrator of events that cannot be brought into the time limit of the performance, but that are necessary for adequate exposition, was peculiarly English and sometimes the only explanation of an otherwise superfluous chorus. Very early in the history of the English chorus its elements were individualized and allotted functions that in classical examples

<sup>9</sup> Jonson's *Sejanus* and both parts of Chapman's *Bussy D'Ambois* are without choruses. This may be because these tragedies are essentially historical chronicles, in which, save by exception, the chorus has little propriety.

were given only to the chorus leader. Side by side with this variation the classically-modelled chorus is found, consisting of small groups of people, as, "Four old men," "Four wise men," "Chorus of Burghers," "Bashas or Caddies," "Evil Spirits," "Courtiers," "Ladies," "Country Justices and their Wives," etc., etc. Variety becomes almost the rule, whether considered from the point of view of subject-matter or from that of form. Many choruses seem to be suggested by literary forms more or less closely related to drama, such as the *débat* or *estrif*,<sup>10</sup> some are mere dialogues without the contention motive, and employed to amuse, to instruct, to warn, to satirize. Others, naturally, echo Seneca, having ghosts and furies for their highly individualized elements. Sometimes the chorus is of one piece with prologue and epilogue, constituting a sort of framework for the play and capable of a good deal of variety in form and matter. One of these varieties is that of an enveloping action carried on sometimes by mythological personages, sometimes by the same class of folk as that found in the main action, but contrasted with it in one way or another. Sometimes this framework is less for the artistic purpose of the play than for the intellectual relief of the dramatist and the moral reformation of the playgoing world, as in Jonson. Rarely, it contains the human interest of the play and reverses the order, making the drama subsidiary and illustrative, as in *The Muses' Looking-Glass*.

The chorus in Senecan drama was extraneous to the action and could be removed without affecting the plot in any way. In English drama it was equally ornamental, save in the kind of instance, already noted, where it served as narrative substitute for the plot.<sup>11</sup> Here it collected within formal limits the epic passages which, in earlier English drama, had been assigned to personages in the action. In no other function does it seem to have been vital. If in Greek drama the chorus

<sup>10</sup> The *Cambridge History* says that no such connection has been proved. Cf. vol. V, p. 3.

<sup>11</sup> Fischer, pp. 8, 9, 10, 72, 74, etc.

was a hindrance to dramatic development, and if its history throughout the classical period marks its steadily decreasing value as a dramatic asset,<sup>12</sup> how much less serviceable must it have been in a drama like that of England, which was not lyrical in origin, but which, in emphasis as well as in intention, was from the start dramatic above all else, however hospitably it may have welcomed reflection and contemplation as essential to its ultimate purpose. The Elizabethan playwright was guided by a variety of motives in his increasing independence of the chorus. His artistic ideal seems to have been a dramatic unit incorporating into its very substance the material which, in inferior dramas, possessed only extraneous form and function: a drama in which the non-dramatic interests of life—so necessary to any full representation of human activity—were to find a place, but where they were to be dramatically indicated, flashed out in the thick of the fight, not set apart and labelled “chorus.” Whether this ideal were actually entertained by English playwrights is, perhaps, hardly an open question; but that it was the logical as well as the artistic end for the evolution of English dramatic form is an inference certainly justified by the highest dramatic accomplishment of the period. The chorus served at once to emphasize and to retard this evolution. Its total influence is not to be accounted malign, however, since English dramatists learned so many valuable lessons in learning to reject it. Consideration of these technical benefits lies in a more interesting field than that of this essay, and must here be left unattempted.

A classification of the plays containing chorus material disposed extraneously to the action, shows that by far the larger proportion have choruses in verse. The others have choruses forming portions of the dialogue framework in which the play proper is set. In these choruses there is a frequent, though not conspicuous, use of the contention motive, and an observ-

<sup>12</sup> John Stuart Blackie, *Genius and Character of Greek Tragedy*, p. xxxvi.

able tendency to give undue prominence and dramatic interest to the interlocutors. Very rarely, the chorus exists only to interpret the dumb show. In such case it is generally in verse, although where its form is that of dialogue, the topics discussed seem to determine the precise nature of the rhythm used. Jonson, who contributed most of this sort of chorus, gave it a prose dress.

(a) *Chorus Material in Classical Form*

The earliest appearance of the formal chorus was, however, in verse form. In *Gorboduc* it is arranged, as in Senecan tragedy, after each of the first four acts. With it are dumb shows, another conspicuous novelty in English drama, familiar to certain kinds of Latin drama, but unknown to the Senecan variety; common, under the name *intermedii*, to Italian drama, though not often associated with tragedy;<sup>13</sup> and familiar to English rural drama and public hospitality. The dumb show in *Gorboduc* is not, however, due to native precursors, but is of Italian provenience.<sup>14</sup> It stands at the beginning of each act instead of at the end as in Italian drama<sup>15</sup> and, although not a structural part of the act, is not logically extraneous, as it is an allegorical representation of the plot. The chorus in this play does not explain the dumb show, as in so many later instances, but consists of rhetorical generalizations upon the events of the preceding act. It is almost wholly without classical allusion, or indeed, reference or concrete illustration of any kind. Save that it is written in rimed pentameter instead of in blank verse, its metrical form offers no contrast to that of the drama. While *Gorboduc* is classical in form, it is not so in theme, nor are its choruses indebted to Senecan example for their purpose. A similar didacticism is found in the speeches of *Doctor*, *Expositor*, or *Contemplacio* in much older, indigenous plays.

<sup>13</sup> Cambridge History, V, 77.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*

Distinction of form, rather than any novelty of idea, seems to constitute the importance of this earliest imitation of a classical chorus. The cast of phrase, unlike much that came later, owes practically nothing to Senecan suggestion. The subject-matter of the drama is English history—or what was thought by its authors to be such. If any part of the choric stuff has been borrowed, it has been worn in English fashion.

The same cannot be said, however, of Gascoigne's *Jocasta*, a translation of Dolce's version of Euripides. Both form and manner are predominantly classical. The chorus not only remains on the stage continuously from the time of its first appearance at the end of the first act, but is also in accord with classical usage when it takes part in the action. Similarly classical is Kyd's *Cornelia*, translated from Garnier's tragedy and showing no departure from classical example save in the lyric form and rhythm of chorus lines in the manner of French adaptations of Seneca. *Gismond of Salern* is, however, more independent, though almost more so in spirit than in form. It was the first English drama to be based on an Italian *novella*. The modifications of the original story are emphasized by the use of the chorus, which helps to give dignity and calm to a passion evidently regarded as in its Italian presentment too extreme for English audiences.<sup>16</sup> In these choruses the ideas are much more suggestive of Seneca than were those in the choruses of *Gorboduc*, being easily traceable to specific dramas,<sup>17</sup> though not yet offering resemblance to the Senecan phrase. Instead of the simple rhetoric of the choruses of *Gorboduc*, there is an ornate style abounding in mythological allusion and elaborate parallel. In the last act, the chorus functions as a *dramatis persona*, conformably to classical usage. Here, at closer range, it should seem to have more power to control the violence of the catastrophe. On the contrary, the end is full of horrors which are enacted on the stage. Evidently this glut of death proved more

<sup>16</sup> *Cambridge History*, V, 82, and also the epilogue of the play.

<sup>17</sup> *Hippolytus*, chorus iv; *Hercules Oetaeus*, chorus ii; *Oedipus*, chorus iv.

dear to the playwrights than their love of classic form; otherwise these suicides would have occurred out of sight. Thus there seems to be proof of an incompatibility between the inevitable tendency of English taste and the classical forms that would prevent its free expression. In this play, as in *Gorboduc*, the dumb shows are not incorporated in the acts of the play. In 1591, twenty-three years after the original presentation, this play was revised by one of the original authors. In the version of 1568, the second chorus is given to "four wise men of Salerno";<sup>18</sup> in that of 1591, the same chorus is given to maidens, thus permitting a more striking tribute to the queen. Love of sensational effects must have increased during the period, for in the version of 1568 Megaera comes alone to announce her accursed purpose and function, while in that of 1591 Alecto and Tisiphone come with her and dance a hellish dance about her until she dismisses them. The actual number of lines in both sets of choruses is about the same, since ten and a half have been omitted and fifteen have been added; but ideas are not materially changed.<sup>19</sup> Today the play is best known by the title of the revised version, *Tancred and Gismunda*.

The next succeeding drama to have a chorus is not a tragedy, as the others have been, but a sort of hybrid—Gascoigne's *Glass of Government*. It is definitely separated from anything like true comedy, for it has been regarded not only as a sombre Calvinistic drama,<sup>20</sup> but as, in the author's view, a sort of tragi-comedy "bycause therein are handled as well the rewardes for Virtues, as also the punishment for Vices." The two sons who deservedly come to bad ends do not make it a tragedy, even under the Aristotelian definition, although it comes perilously near being an action that is "serious, complete, and of a certain magnitude." The *Glass* contains much chorus material appallingly moralistic. Although the

<sup>18</sup> Cf. the "Four Wise Men of Britain" in *Gorboduc*.

<sup>19</sup> In this respect, the epilogues show more alteration than the choruses.

<sup>20</sup> C. H. Herford, in *Englische Studien*, IX, 201.

acts are in prose, the choruses are in various forms of iambic verse. The chief merit of these short "moral odes," as Gascoigne calls them, is that their metre and rime afford relief from the prose of the scenes. There is no change of atmosphere or of temperature; the whole drama is more depressing than any tragedy. The chorus, as in the earlier *Gorboduc* and in *Gismond*, is given to "four grave men," burghers in this case, as suits the setting of the drama. The choruses as a whole constitute a sermon in metre with an exposition of the pains of parental solicitude; the "vile wares" the world is full of; the invariable tendency of worthy character to reveal itself ultimately; the need of God's grace as the only efficacious power against deep-rooted vice. Although such ideas clearly show a close relation in subject-matter between this play and the moralities, a comparison of the *Glass* with any typical morality of earlier date will show a noticeable difference in form. The arrangement of the morality is necessarily less analytical. The formal choruses of Gascoigne's morality and the divisions of acts and scenes indicate one of the chief virtues resulting from classical influence on English drama: the development of a sense of form and order.

*The Misfortunes of Arthur* continues the tradition, begun with *Gorboduc* and followed in *Gismond*, of the barristers of London as tragic dramatists. All the accompaniments to the drama proper of this play are conspicuously lawyer-like in their ingenuity, complexity, and elaboration. It is said that the accessories were more regarded than the drama itself, inasmuch as the title of a pamphlet contemporaneously published to advertise the play made no mention of the drama.<sup>21</sup> Its theme goes back to British legendary history, making it, in this respect, a companion piece to *Gorboduc*. But in *The Misfortunes* the choruses are Senecan in more than their inspiration. Similarity in idea is striking; the "sentences" of

<sup>21</sup> Cambridge History, V, 86. The title of the pamphlet reads: *Certaine devises and shewes presented to her Majestie by the Gentlemen of Grayes-Inne at her Highnesse Court in Greenewich, the twenty-eighth day of Februarie in the thirtieth yeare of her Majesties most happy Raigne.*

Seneca are appearing.<sup>22</sup> The metrical variety is greater, too, than that in *Gorboduc*. While the measure of the verses is five-stressed iambic, the lines are bound into stanzas of varying length and given in rotation to individual members of the chorus. This seems to be the chief formal difference between these choruses and earlier ones. Although such division is an innovation from the standpoint of Latin choruses, it is very familiar to the informal choruses of liturgical and cyclical drama.<sup>23</sup> In addition to the formal choruses, there are what might be called subsidiary choruses, spoken by the ghost of Gorlois. In the tragedy of *Locrine*, written earlier, ghosts mix in the action. Whether or not these ghosts belonged to the group from which Peele took his ghosts, and were consequently more disturbing than the normal ghost, which cannot be accused of subtlety and satire, we may never know; but at least they had no immediate followers, for in *The Misfortunes*, which quickly succeeded *Locrine*, the ghosts are kept out of the plot. Gorlois, to be sure, appears in the second scene of the fifth act, but he comes alone and has the scene to himself. In like manner, *Nuntius* has the whole first scene of the second act. These scenes are more properly epic passages than choruses, but they are undeniably extraneous to the action of the piece itself. They have all the value of choruses in that they fill interstices in the action, and comment or criticize or bewail.

In the next year after *The Misfortunes* was presented before the queen, Marlowe's *Faustus* appeared. Much of this play might be termed extraneous, if only it were possible first to select what is intrinsic, to determine what is essential and what non-essential to the end for which everything seems in some way a pertinent preparation. Where the good and evil angels contend for the soul of man, we are reminded of the contentions of Love and Fortune in the *Triumphs* of those goddesses.<sup>24</sup>

<sup>22</sup> *Cambridge History*, V, 87, instances literal translation of some lines.

<sup>23</sup> York XXV and others.

<sup>24</sup> The idea of such strife is, of course, older than either of these examples.

Wagner's soliloquies often function as choruses. There is but one formal chorus, which moralizes the action, narrates much unrepresented plot, and at the same time expresses the theme in its exhortation to the wise

Only to wonder at unlawful things  
Whose deepness doth entise such forward wits  
To practice more than heavenly power permits.

While drama during these years was largely a process of experimenting with borrowed ideas and forms and methods, there are instances also of the continuance of older dramatic forms. The morality play was still being written, although somewhat modified by the influence of changes in other forms of drama. *A Looking-Glass for London and England* is an illustration in point. The chorus of this Biblical morality of the last decade of the century is assigned to the prophets "Oseas" and "Jonas," who take it in turn. While the function of this chorus, like that of many earlier ones, is to narrate what has happened and what is to happen, the overwhelmingly didactic purpose of the play seems to justify the playwright in giving a new turn to the final appeal. Each chorus concludes with an exhortation to London to repent "and tempt not the heavenly power." Although the choruses of the *Looking-Glass* are formal as they were not in the days when moralities were more frequently written, they are not any more nearly extraneous. They are conscious, however, as their form indicates: conscious of classical example both for their form and for their position in the drama. This is the significant difference.

In Peele's *David and Bethsabe* there is nothing that has not been covered by what has already been said of the *Looking-Glass for London and England*, save that Peele's drama is what one might expect the old single Bible-play to become under the modifying influence of the popular chronicle histories. The play harks back to its earlier prototypes in its lack of division into acts or scenes. The second chorus, following the death of Absalom, promises a third part of the drama which

shall extend beyond the death of David—a promise which is not fulfilled, for the drama ends with David's elegy on Absalom.

*The True Tragedy of Richard III* is not to be grouped with these plays by right of any formal choruses. Together with *Sejanus* and *Bussy D'Ambois* it constitutes an exception to the general rule that throughout this period tragedies had formal choruses. Yet some of its passages have pronounced choric function. After Richmond kills Richard, the entrance of Report and the page is equivalent to "enter Chorus," for the page exercises precisely the functions of the chorus in *Henry the Fifth*.

In *The Battle of Alcazar* dumb shows, which are interpreted by a presenter, appear in the body of the text as corporate parts of the drama. The occurrence of these semi-extraneous parts is irregular, two elaborate dumb shows coming in succession as prelude to the first act, merely elementary ones appearing in the second and third acts, and a more complete allegory ushering in the last act. The presenter exercises his office for the drama as well as for the dumb shows, and gives to his lines the appearance of chorus in all instances where he criticizes or moralizes the action. Such association of chorus and dumb show would seem to have had a very real effect upon the character of the chorus.<sup>25</sup> One result was not so much to alter its function as to limit it to comment and to such comment only as immediately concerned the dumb show. Thus abstract consideration, imaginative treatment, and poetical conception and expression were rendered largely unnecessary. In consequence, the dignity of the traditional chorus was lowered and its appeal restricted whenever it was combined in a play with dumb show. Thus *The Downfall of Robert, Earl of Huntington* has in the first scene of Act I a dumb show that is later repeated in order that it may be explained. This interpretation, bearing not the slightest resemblance to

<sup>25</sup> See Miss Foster's article, "Dumb Show in English Drama before 1620," *Englische Studien*, band 44, heft 1, 1911.

the chorus as we conceive it theoretically, has yet been made possible through the gradual degradation of the chorus as an interpreter. In regular sequence it has declined through three stages of interpretation: first, an interpretation of the spiritual aspects of drama; secondly, of the material aspects; and finally, of the pantomime reflecting both these aspects. This interpretation of mere pantomime is at first not without poetical appeal; but little by little, it, too, loses all afflatus and, in *The Downfall of Huntington*, is merely an index or catalogue of the play.<sup>26</sup>

Thomas Heywood is represented by only three dramatic compositions with choruses, namely: *The Golden Age*, *The Silver Age*, and *The Brazen Age*. In all, Homer is the chorus speaker. His employment is evidently due to epic suggestion, not to dramatic instinct. Dumb shows are introduced into *The Golden Age*, though apparently at haphazard, and always in illustration of Homer's speeches, therefore subordinate to them. In earlier instances, the reverse relation obtained. In *The Golden Age* there are six choruses—before each act and at the end of the piece—and five dumb shows, accompanying each chorus except the first. In *The Silver Age*, there are seven choruses, the second and fifth accompanied by dumb shows. Division into acts is abandoned after the third act. If but three acts were intended, four of Homer's choruses and one of the dumb shows, as well as the chorus at the end of the play, would all belong to the third act. In *The Brazen Age* there are also seven choruses, the fourth and the sixth having dumb shows. Only the first scene of the first act and the second scene of the second act of this play are indicated. Such use of the chorus seems added confirmation of the suspicion that the ordinary writer for the Elizabethan theatre is catering to a public unfavorable to classic choruses. Of course, such an impression is greatly strengthened by the other parts of the play. These

<sup>26</sup> In the successor to this play, namely *The Death* of the same hero, three speeches in Dodsley's edition are marked "Cho.," but they are not choric in any sense, even as a catalogue, and may have been intended for some *dramatis persona* who has been misprinted.

dramas, based on classic mythology, are treated with the utmost disregard of dramatic convention. Yet they were admittedly popular, perhaps for that reason.

In the tragedy of *Thomas, Lord Cromwell*, the use made of the chorus is worthy of remark. It enters three times at irregular intervals, without the least regard to acts and scenes, but strictly in accordance with the logical development of the story; and this in spite of the fact that its work is wholly perfunctory, merely relating the plot and, in one instance, saying naïvely,

Pardon if we omit all Wolsey's life,  
Because our play depends on Cromwell's death.

These choruses indicate a piece in four acts. But probably the conventional five acts misled the printer or editor who first indicated such division. In the same way, *The Spanish Tragedy* was given five acts until Mr. Boas printed it in four, apparently with due regard to this function of the chorus as a divider of the action. Daniel's *Cleopatra*, first published in 1593, has been edited<sup>27</sup> to show the shifting of some of the choruses and the exchange of others after the first printing of the piece. In the edition of 1611, the final arrangement, each act is followed by a chorus. In earlier editions there was no chorus until after the first scene of the second act. In 1611, this chorus was placed after the first act. The place of the second chorus has remained fixed at the end of the second act, but the one now printed there was originally the third chorus, at the end of the third act. These two choruses were exchanged. In earlier editions the fourth chorus came after the second scene of the fourth act instead of at the end of the act. Such rearrangement seems to indicate an increased perception of structural value on the part of the playwright. The earlier use of the chorus seems rather due to the fact that choruses were the fashion and were, like many other fashions, often worn without regard to vital fitness. This instance of Daniel's alterations, if taken in connection with instances of choruses

<sup>27</sup> Cf. Bang, *Materialien*, vol. 31.

which were left faultily located and out of place, may be held to indicate an uncertainty about the function and significance of the chorus that was felt not only by Daniel, but by dramatists generally; an uncertainty that would not have persisted had these men possessed the instinct for the chorus which is essential to any vital use of it.

The only choruses that seem at home in English drama are those in *Alaham* and *Mustapha*, dramas written comparatively late. Yet they only strengthen the general case, for the term drama is rather a misnomer for philosophical poems in which the name chorus is applied to certain sections. Greville was not primarily a dramatist. Drama is essentially concrete. Greville dealt in abstractions. Lamb, according to Hazlitt,<sup>28</sup> coupled Greville and Sir Thomas Browne together as writers of riddles and mysteries, and said of Greville, "He is like nothing but one of his own 'Prologues spoken by the ghost of an old king of Ormus,' a truly formidable and inviting personage: his style is apocalyptic, cabalistical, a knot worthy of such an apparition to untie." Cowley calls him somewhere "a vast species alone." He is enigmatical and tantalizing, perhaps because he is intellectual and fanciful<sup>29</sup>—a really rare combination—instead of imaginative and sensuous, like the average man. It is not surprising that Greville's choruses create a literary and not a dramatic impression. They need not be condemned if it is recalled that they were not intended for the stage. Greville says in his *Life of Sidney*: "If . . . I have made these Tragedies no plaies for the stage; be it known it was no part of my purpose to write for them, against whom so many good and great spirits have already written." In most of these choruses there is very slight reference to the action of the drama: the thoughts of the drama suggest other thoughts, different in mood or scope; these other thoughts are given to the choruses. This loosely associative relation of play and chorus is found sometimes in Greek drama and often in Sen-

<sup>28</sup> Cf. Hazlitt's essay, "Of Persons One Would Wish to have Seen."

<sup>29</sup> Gosse: *From Shakespeare to Pope*, p. 146.

eca; but many of the topics discussed by Greville would never have occurred to classical dramatists in such association. Although Greville had intensity of vision and abundant poetic fancy, his choruses rise to such heights of abstraction that they constitute rather expository essays than parts of dramatic poetry. Their extraneity is two-fold: not only legitimately outside the plot, but intellectually distinct from the mood of the poem proper. That mood, although colored somewhat by human action and passion, is, according to Lamb, "subservient to the expression of State dogmas and mysteries." Greville's own view of these choruses is quoted by Grosart: "The workes—as you see—are Tragedies with some treatises annexed. The Treatises—to speak truly of them—were but intended to be for every act a chorus: and that not borne out of the present matter acted, yet being the largest subjects I could then think upon."<sup>20</sup> Here then, the chorus is admittedly a vehicle of the most abstract thought. Greville's choruses are interesting, not as parts of a drama, but in themselves. There is compelling force in the intensity with which the thought is uttered. In spite of great unlikeness of ideal content, the choruses of Greville suggest some of those in Jonson's plays, because of a certain resemblance in them as revealers of the personality of the authors and because of the striking exceptions they constitute to the perfunctoriness of most choruses.

Both Daniel and Fulke Greville belong to the group of English dramatists who felt the force of Seneca as it expressed itself through French and not through Italian adaptations. Although Kyd's translation of Garnier's *Cornélie* marks, as already noted, the earliest appearance of French Seneca in English, Kyd's development of a tragic theme preferably followed Italian methods. The most salient features of the French Senecan influence are the elaborate stanzaic form and complicated riming scheme of the choruses as contrasted with

<sup>20</sup> Grosart's edition of Greville's *Works*, II, p. xv.

a regularity in the verse-form and in the rime of the tragedy proper.<sup>31</sup> Daniel's *Hymen's Triumph* carries this so far that the choruses are mere lyrics like thousands that were written for contemporary song-books. Brandon's *Virtuous Octavia* has choruses of greater dignity, yet obviously indebted to this phase of Senecan influence in form. Alexander's *Monarchicke Tragedies* resemble those of Greville in their imitation of Seneca and in their treatment of classical subjects in the classical manner; but they differ in their complete lack of distinction in both substance and general form. They conspicuously surpass Greville's plays, however, in the complexity and variety of their metres. In this respect they have no companion in the whole range of English choruses. This characteristic is ascribable to Garnier's influence.<sup>32</sup> In itself, however, it does not constitute distinction; it rather emphasizes the meagreness of thought thus mechanically ornamented. Even at its best, Alexander's phrase is rhetorical as compared with Greville's. Both men's choruses are treatises, employing a great deal of exposition; the commonplaces are largely those that the authors read in Seneca. The dreariness of Alexander's one hundred and twenty choruses is their most conspicuous characteristic. All are variations of the theme later embodied in Johnson's *Rasselas*. At first glance it seems that a good deal of skill has been shown in ringing so many changes on a theme which, in spite of such formal variety, continues monotonous; yet second thoughts suggest that both the variety and the monotony probably denote rather the commonplace-ness of the theme than either skill or lack of it on the part of the author.

In the drama of England, French Seneca never had the vogue of Italian Seneca, partly because the influence from Italy came first, partly because the formalities of the French interpretation made but slight appeal to English dramatists. By the time that English drama had recovered from Italian

<sup>31</sup> M. W. Croll, *The Works of Fulke Greville*, p. 33.

<sup>32</sup> Schelling's *Elizabethan Drama*, II, 15.

Seneca, it had developed a characteristically national type and discarded its Senecan model. Gifford says that there "was scarcely a play on the stage when Jonson first came to it, which did not avail itself of a chorus to waft its audience over sea and land or over wide intervals of time." While Gifford probably wishes to indicate the height of fashion to which the chorus had attained, his statement, in spite of its exaggeration, may be interpreted as implying that English playwrights had established their own form of chorus. This fact may be sufficiently illustrated by two signal examples, in both of which the narrative and the time-compressing functions are conspicuous; but in which the degrees of excellence admit of no comparison. The first example occurs in Dekker's version of *Old Fortunatus*. There are but two choruses, both serving as time and space compressors. The first one takes extreme advantage of its narrative function, transporting the audience in imagination several times over the breadth of the known world, showing Fortunatus in various romantic situations: the favorite of oriental princes, a prisoner in Spain, escaped to Turkey, thence to Babylon, and at last safely landed and in dialogue with the Sultan. At the end of this breathless journey, the second act of the drama begins. The next chorus, preceding the fourth act, narrates what should be logically the most important events of the plot, thus contributing to the playwright's ease of composition by sparing him the pains of plot construction. If Dekker is not the author of these choruses,<sup>33</sup> his retention of them without the addition of others shows an appreciation of their usefulness, but no feeling that the chorus had other than a mechanical function. But the supereminent instance of the chorus in English drama occurs in *Henry the Fifth*. Utilitarian in motive as was most of Shakespeare's work, these six stirring poems are as incapable as the dramas of being cabined and confined to a

<sup>33</sup> Miss M. L. Hunt's *Thomas Dekker, A Study*, in *Columbia University Studies*, 1911, offers reasonable grounds for Dekker's being the author. In that case, his use of these choruses, so clearly an echo of greater ones, is but "the sincerest form of flattery."

merely mechanical function. The story was too big for the limited time of a performance; the theatre was too small for the adequate staging of the plot; the chorus was called in to relieve the situation. And having been called in as a purely mechanical aid, its mechanical function was emphasized and reiterated. Yet because it was Shakespeare's mechanical chorus and not another's, it contains an appeal to the exercise of the high delights of imagination, and is a poetic statement of the power of imagination in the ideal spectator. Hence it is rather a drop from this chorus to others of the type. In *The Thracian Wonder*, the solitary chorus at the end of the first act interprets a dumb show of the shipwreck of the heroine and her husband and adds the narration of that part of their subsequent history which must be hastily passed over. In *Romeo and Juliet* there is one lonely chorus between the first act and the second; a chorus no better than some already considered, and worse than most. Dr. Johnson objected to it because it not only reiterates what the first act has already presented, but also "relates it without the improvement of any moral sentiment."<sup>24</sup> A better, if less interesting, reason is offered by Ulrici, who condemns it as "so empty, prosaic, and barren, and so wholly pointless."<sup>25</sup> This chorus, not in the quarto of 1597 nor in the First Folio, appears first in the folio of 1632. Its omission from the version of the play printed in Shakespeare's lifetime and from the folio published by his friends and admirers after his death, might well suggest that it was added for the exigency of a later performance, to do honor to some actor or some poetaster. It is a later addition by someone who had, obviously, small care for stylistic congruity. There is but one other occasional chorus in Shakespeare's plays, that in *A Winter's Tale* which bridges the sixteen years' lapse of time and which, poor as it is, serves a legitimate purpose and contains turns of expression much more Shakespearean than any in the chorus of *Romeo and Juliet*.

<sup>24</sup> Furness's *Variorum Shakespeare, Romeo and Juliet*, p. 85, note.

<sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*

In *The Fall of Mortimer*, left a fragment, with accompanying notes indicative of its argument, Jonson shows that he had a Senecan form of tragedy in mind. The four choruses furnish lyrical reactions on the plot without in any way serving as a substitute for that action. In *Catiline*, the choruses have as much variety as could be given to any four inter-act poems. In thought, in form, in rhythm, and in tendency and object, each is distinct from the others. The chorus at the end of the fourth act refers directly to the action of the play. The first chorus omits such reference, furnishing instead a larger view of the causes and conditions that have made possible the action of the first act. The chorus at the end of the second act is a prayer to Mars and Jove to protect Rome and to give her good magistrates. The third chorus is a lament for the frustration of the plot against Cicero. This chorus is conspicuous for metrical lightness, affording thereby a most agreeable contrast to the oppressive thought in it. Those who think that Jonson is a heavy writer, will at least admit that he has his moments of beautiful ease.

During this time, a lyric poet of ability turned his hand to tragedy and, in *The Devil's Charter*, showed himself a playwright. Barnabe Barnes did not carry poetry over into drama, but he made a good acting play. He used the chorus for explanation and narration. He did not always distinguish chorus and personages as to function, for at the end of act four, Guicciardine has a narrative speech similar in function to the earlier chorus; and in the fifth scene of the fifth act, the interlude of devils shows in its dialogue the same power to narrate the succeeding action that was earlier given to the one formal chorus.

In Jasper Fisher's *Fuimus Troes* there is an attempt to do much the same thing that was done in *Gorboduc*, namely, to present early British history in dramatic form after the classical manner, as far as structure and organization may be termed manner. Yet many of the songs are too much like those in the Pyramus and Thisbe interlude in *A Midsummer-Night's*

*Dream* to be taken seriously. Here and there one has a gleam of hope that they were not written by "base mechanicals" of the college world, but by deliberate comedians. For example, in the absurd lyric so curiously anticipative of Blake:

All the spring  
Birds do sing:  
Now with high  
Then low cry.  
Flat, acute;  
And salute,  
The sun, born  
Every morn.

and its chorus:

[All]: He's no bard that cannot sing  
The praises of the flowery spring,

one is tempted for the moment to hope that the couplet is deliberately ambiguous, with deeply satiric reference to the song immediately preceding. Such construction, however, is probably but the lawless interpretation of a weary brain seeking refreshment at any cost.

#### (b) *Chorus Material in Non-Classical Form*

The class of plays in which chorus material is presented in forms unlike the Senecan chorus, is much smaller than the class just considered; but it is interesting because such development of the chorus is in line with the evolution of English dramatic form as a whole; that is, from definite models to greater freedom, from formal elements mutually exclusive to a harmony in which these elements are still distinguishable, although bound organically into one whole. In this class of plays, the chorus material is not separable in form from prologue; and the extraneous parts constitute a background, as it were, which keeps its place during the acts, but which has the power of becoming a foreground in the intervals of the action. The frequency of Ovidian mythology in dramas of this sort points

to Italian rather than to classical influence. Mythological characters in *The Rare Triumphs of Love and Fortune* conduct the whole of the first act, making clear the rest of the drama, which is carried on by mortals. From these gods of the first act, Fortune and Venus are selected as chorus, officiating after the first four acts and taking part in the human action in the fifth act. Their chorus is mainly a *débat* or contention, in which their names are almost all that is classical about them. Although they are here regarded by the dramatist largely as impersonations of abstract qualities, which was of course not wholly foreign to their character and significance among the Romans, they are made to share in a moral interlude, a participation unknown to their classical use. At the close, Fortune seems to win, for she has the last word and says without denial,

“That Wisdom ruleth Love, and Fortune both.”

The play is practically a story within a story. The rivalry of Venus and Fortune is illustrated by their handling of the love affair of Hermione and Fidelia. The puppet character of the human material is evident from Jupiter's suggestion that these two goddesses try their strength upon it. To give the victory to Fortune is in harmony with the Elizabethan notion of that power and may be the only reason why the enveloping action comes perilously near being more interesting than the drama proper.

In Kyd's *Spanish Tragedy* the moralistic conception and handling of the extraneous parts is evident. Two characters, the Ghost, of Senecan provenience, and Revenge, a morality type of personage, undertake the induction, the chorus, and the epilogue, parts differing from one another only in the fact of their location. The dialogue between these two speakers constitutes the frame in which each act of the drama is set. The Ghost comments and judges; Revenge comments and narrates. The Ghost speaks first and, in general, retrospectively. Revenge comes second, with speeches which all look

ahead. The conception of both characters is allegorical, whatever their functions, for in the last act, when Hieronymo and Lorenzo have apparently become friends, Revenge is found to be asleep. This dialogue framework for the *Spanish Tragedy* shares somewhat in the atmosphere of the main story, for the last speeches of the Ghost and Revenge have all the melodramatic exaggeration of the last scene of the last act, where the truly tragic impression left by the deaths of so many is degraded by the stabbing of the friendly duke and by Hieronymo's suicide. Such massacre is no more defensible than the glut of revenge indicated by the last words of that chorus speaker:

For heere, though death hath end their miserie,  
Ile there begin their endles Tragedie.<sup>26</sup>

In *Locrine*, the next play to have a chorus, the ghost is not extraneous, but included in the action of the play and made a part of the dramatic fabric. Revenge, under the figure of Até, is sole sustainer of the framework of the drama and interpreter of the dumb shows. These pantomimes are intermeans in *Gorboduc* and in *Tancred and Gismunda*; in *Locrine* they constitute the opening scene of each act and are interpreted by Até. This partial absorption of the extraneity into the play proper is in line with what has been said of the tendency of English drama to make everything contribute to unity of action and singleness of effect, until the highest expression of that drama comes to resemble nothing so much as a seamless garment woven by life itself, with interpenetrating parts where nothing is extraneous. The framework of *Locrine*, while fashionably crowded with classical allusions and parallels, is more nearly expository and didactic than the framework of the *Spanish Tragedy*. Yet it does not leave on the reader the impression of dramatic will and purpose that is inevitably left by the Ghost of Andrea and by Revenge.

<sup>26</sup> "There" is Hell, where Tityus, Ixion, and other much-cited personages are to have a holiday, while the foes of Hieronymo take their places and suffer their tortures.

In *Soliman and Perseda*, the choruses consist of another dramatization of a contention motive. In this play, the devices of Kyd's earlier play—assuming his authorship in this case—reappear, strengthened and, at least in number, reinforced. While the framework is itself a distinct drama, it equally fulfils the conventional function of the chorus as spectator and narrator of the action. Love, Fortune, and Death constitute the rivals in this choric strife, appearing after all five acts, repeating their contention upon each return, and managing, in the course of their squabble, to indicate the action of the preceding act. Their fulfilment of choric function is noticeably incidental; they are interesting for their own sakes. Death is left alone at the end of the play, although Love and Fortune insist that they have not yielded to him. As one sign of the able management of a literary contention is the evenness with which the parts are sustained, it must be admitted that Kyd's spirited conduct of this debate merits its being accounted excellent on that ground, at least. There is much rhetoric and some rant, but the interest is kept up steadily and not allowed to drop even at the end. In this respect it is an advance on *The Rare Triumphs of Love and Fortune*. So, too, *The Taming of A Shrew*, acted in the same year, affords another instance of one drama as framework for another. Still another drama with extraneous framework is *Alphonsus, King of Arragon*. Here Venus and the Muses act as chorus. The speeches between acts are entitled "Prologue" in every case. They are identical in function, though not in form, with the choruses in *Henry the Fifth*, and are noteworthy as being the first conspicuous instance of this specifically English function of the chorus.

Peele's *Old Wives' Tale*, while supplying a framework, offers a complete novelty in the fact that its so-called extraneities create, by the reaction of their personages upon the drama proper, the only atmosphere in which the whole composition can be fairly viewed and its character appreciated. They thus hold the key to the secret of the author's intention. The

realism of this framework marks no real advance upon that of *A Shrew*; its explanatory function, on the other hand, is exercised in a manner wholly unique, whereby it almost ceases to be extraneous in every respect but that of form. The closeness with which the induction and the drama proper are interwoven is only equalled by the clearness with which they are kept distinct. This induction gives a hint of the way the piece is to be interpreted. In view of the fact that *The Old Wives' Tale* may be regarded as a satire upon the dramatizations of heroical romance,<sup>37</sup> it is perhaps not unimportant to note the satiric implications in the action of the piece: the romance of the drama passes, but the common folk of the induction remain. The two elements, as handled by Peele, serve to set off realism and common sense against the nonsense of the romances. And yet not common sense either, for Madge and her auditors are themselves not safe from Peele's smiling irony.

Unlike Peele's comedy, Robert Greene's *James the Fourth* in the enveloping action combines the supernatural, in Obiron, King of the Fairies, with the actual, in Bohan, a Scottish countryman much given to complaining of the hollowness of city and court life. It is to convince Obiron of the justice of such complaint that Bohan has this play presented. Peele secured plausibility by keeping the supernatural out of the framework; Greene destroyed verisimilitude by introducing the supernatural into it.

*Summer's Last Will and Testament* offers another example of plays that are framed by the extraneous parts. Will Summer, on the stage all the time like the Greek chorus, is far more interesting than the play. His mockery, his tireless invective, his audacity, appear at every turn. They belong to the same school of expression as Marston's and Jonson's prefaces, without the dignity of Jonson's. In his comments there may have been some attempt to keep alive the memory of the actual

<sup>37</sup> E.g., *Common Conditions*, *Sir Clyomon and Sir Clamydes*, *Orlando Furioso*, etc.

Will Summer's thrusts and gibes; but there was undoubtedly more of "pure Nash." The comment is sharp, sudden, reckless; the satire trenchant. But it is not intellectual as Jonson's is, and has only laughter as its motive. The personage of the title *rôle* further suggests the Greek chorus in that he enters the action of the drama as it nears its close. His comments then become extraneous in a new sense. After jeering at the "sermon" of Vertumnus, he himself delivers one on the bestiality of drinking. Later, he animadverts upon study in rough and blustering phrase: "Nouns and pronouns, I pronounce you as traitors to boys' buttocks; syntaxis and prosodia, you are tormentors of wit, and good for nothing but to get a schoolmaster twopence a week. Hang, copies! Fly out, phrasebooks! let pens be turned to picktooths! Bowls, cards, and dice, you are the true liberal sciences! I'll ne'er be a goose-quill, gentlemen, while I live." All idea of dignity as essential to the chorus must be abandoned in the case of dramas whose chorus is thus fused with the other extraneous parts. In all of them the poet had obviously in mind a composite which shall share the characteristics of each and all of the separate non-organic or extraneous forms and lose the idiosyncrasies of each.

If "the proper position of the chorus in a regularly constructed drama is, like the witches in *Macbeth*, to form a mysterious musical background (not a foreground as in the Greek tragedy);"<sup>38</sup> then the *Dido* of Nash and Marlowe, published in 1594, may be regarded as a blundering first step in the right direction, since it has a mythological background, which only occasionally obtrudes upon the foreground, and has no formal extraneities. But as its very loose structure would hardly entitle it to be called "regularly constructed," and as its mythological background is hardly "musical," it rather shows how much remains to be done in the dozen years until *Macbeth* than marks any noteworthy achievement in this direction.

Yarrington's *Two Tragedies in One*, an unblent juxtaposition

<sup>38</sup> Blackie, *Genius and Character of the Greek Tragedy*, p. xxxvi.

of commonplace realism and crude romance, shows extraneous matter serving as framework for four of the five acts of the drama. This framework consists of a three-cornered dialogue carried on by Homicide, Avarice, and Truth, in which the action is invariably announced but not invariably moralized, and is often ornamented with classical allusions. The chorus is not well used, but the clumsiness of the drama proper would scarcely argue for excellence in the extraneous parts.

Jonson, in one sense the most classical of dramatists, is in another the most highly individualized and impressionistic. His independent use of current dramatic fashions was partly the result of a deeper knowledge of the literature of antiquity than his contemporaries had, and partly the driving force of temperament. Gifford calls attention to the fact that Mitis and Cordatus, in *Every Man Out of His Humor*, named by Jonson the *Grex* or chorus, mark a function not known to the ancient drama "in standing distinct from the scene and occupying the place of critics." That depends on what is meant by the term criticism. Certainly Jonson's *Grex* is not critical exactly as the Greek chorus was critical. Jonson's chief interest is in ideas. With him, criticism excludes all sympathy and poetry and is a mingled affair of intellect and spleen, with a dash or two of vitriolic humor. He is so fond of this kind of criticism that he has often well-nigh swamped the action in the enveloping and accompanying comment. Of the two plays, *Catiline* and *Sejanus*, in which Jonson is most strictly classical, only the first named has a chorus. In his other dramas, Jonson modifies the traditional conception of the chorus in every way possible to his genius, not only quite destroying the conventional form, but greatly modifying the function. He incorporates into the criticism undertaken by his choruses not only exposition and judgment of the action, but discussion of literary and technical matters suggested by the play.<sup>39</sup> The chorus in *Every Man Out of His Humor* fulfills a varied function. It sometimes offers detailed criticism

<sup>39</sup> Cf. later discussion of content of extraneities, pp. 241-248, *passim*.

of the technicalities of dramatic structure and presentation, for the purpose of instructing the audience; sometimes merely indicates the place where the action is carried on; sometimes consists merely of quick, pointed characterization of a newly-appearing *dramatis persona*; sometimes is a humorous observation dashed with wit, as after the first speech of Sogliardo, when Mitis says, "Why, this fellow's discourse were nothing but for the word humor," and Cordatus replies, "O, bear with him; an he should lack matter and words too, 'twere pitiful." This chorus embodies some of its author's greatest literary sins. Jonson is so keen to have his meaning caught by the audience that he cannot wait for his play to reveal it, but must be eternally guilty of the crime of Mitis, which Cordatus censures at one point by saying, "O, you forestall the jest." In *Cynthia's Revels* Jonson begins to ring his changes on the idea of the chorus. Crites, as his name indicates, is logically less in the action than outside it, and is constantly trying to measure men and their calibre by the standard of Jonson's moral ideal. Yet when the action of an entire drama is so subordinate to criticism as here, Crites cannot justly be called the only chorus. He is not chorus as are Cordatus and Mitis, for he is in the plot and they are not. From Jonson's constant references to comedy as a criterion, it might seem that his choruses were inspired more by Terentian prologue than by classical tragedy. But in *Timber*<sup>40</sup> he says very distinctly that "the parts of a comedy are the same with a tragedy;" and later,<sup>41</sup> that, since unity of effect is the one aim of a writer, "the episodes and digressions in a fable are the same that household stuff and other furniture are in a house." If one be tempted to imagine Jonson's house overcrowded, one must nevertheless assent to his theory. *The Staple of News*, coming next after *Catiline*, contains a chorus which is a reversion to Jonson's favorite type of running commentary in prose dialogue, to which he himself gave the name "intermean or chorus."

<sup>40</sup> Schelling's edition, p. 81.

<sup>41</sup> Schelling's edition, p. 85.

It consists of "four gentlewomen, lady-like attired," named Mirth, Tattle, Expectation, Censure. The chief speaker for the quartette announces as soon as possible that their purpose is to see plays "and sit upon them," and "arraign both them and their poets." In the first of these choruses, Jonson's play, *The Devil is an Ass* receives high praise; the *Devil of Edmonton*, not Jonson's, is merely mentioned without praise; and *The Staple of News* feared as dull because it has neither devil nor vice in it. In the second intermean, Mirth tells her companions that the play has three or four vices whom she finds among the *dramatis personae*. When further objection is made that there is "never a fiend" to carry the vices away, Mirth explains, "That was the old way, . . . . but now they are attired like men and women of the time, the vices male and female. Prodigality, like a young heir, and his mistress Money, . . . . pranked up like a fine lady." There is also an allusion to current events in the phrase "an honourable princess," used in reference to the Infanta of Spain,<sup>42</sup> whose match with Charles had just been broken off. In the third intermean, the gossips at first flout aldermen, and then satirize themselves, offering an ironic thrust at people of their sort, whether men or women: "Whether it were true or not, we gossips are bound to believe it, an't be once out and a-foot: how should we entertain the time else, or find ourselves in fashionable discourse for all companies, if we did not credit all, and make more of it in the reporting?" The final fling, however, is more significant, a complaint as if from the Puritans, of the universality of plays at the expense of education; a complaint that was all too soon to have its cause removed by the increasingly efficacious opposition to the stage which finally succeeded in closing the theatres. The last intermean is both a criticism of the author's management of the plot and a satirical comment on the absurdities of the fourth act. In the choruses as well as in the title of *The Magnetic Lady, or Humors Reconciled*, there is

<sup>42</sup> See note in Gifford and Cunningham's edition of the *Works*.

a reference to earlier plays. Although the comment largely takes the form of critical exposition of play-writing, play-acting, and play-seeing, satire is freely spent on those people engaged in these three practices who do not meet all the tests of the Jonsonian standard.

Of Jonson's many "sons," not one could wear his mantle. Some were wise enough not to try to do so. Thomas Randolph's work has a gayety and brightness not due to any imitation of that of his literary father. In only one of his pieces has he any chorus-like portions. These, in *The Muses' Looking-Glass*, belong to the framework type. The speakers are three, Bird and Mistress Flowerdew, two Puritans who peddle small wares in Blackfriars theatre, and Roscius, one of the actors, who begs them to stay to see this play, as by so doing they will modify their aversion to the stage. They remain as chorus, commenting on the play at irregular intervals. At the end, they have some doubts of their own spiritual immaculateness and a good deal of admiration for the rather ingenious moralization of the play they have seen. The satire is, of course, evident. The only human interest is in Bird and Flowerdew, personages wholly extraneous. This play is another instance of the fact that the framework of a drama may have in itself an interest to surpass, in dramatic value, the interest of the play proper. This chorus is made also to serve the purposes of satire and of humor. It is in no sense subsidiary to the drama, but rather makes the drama subordinate to itself.

These illustrations of English use of the chorus in drama do not prove that the chorus was only a temporary form; but a table of all the extant dramas that have choruses shows the fact conclusively, for it shows, by its chronology, a period from 1562 to 1586 when choruses occur only at intervals of several years; then a period from 1586 to 1611 when almost no year is unmarked by a chorus. From 1611 to 1634, there is a falling-off, corresponding to the earlier "coming-on" period. It is also worth notice that the drama of the Stuart period seems to have no choruses except in the one instance of *The*

*Prophetess*, which in 1622 staged two choruses and a dumb show. Why Fletcher and Massinger should thus seem to have brought back the past is a phenomenon capable of more than one interpretation. It may be explained on the grounds of stage economy; the dumb show and the choruses disposed quickly of some of the most important events of the plot and left time for the elaboration of the final effects so dear to these authors. It may be explained also on the assumption—an assumption having the potentiality of fact—that this chorus, extraneous only in form, has been preserved because it embodied so much of the plot, while merely conventional choruses have perished. Whatever the reason for this chorus, the drama is in tone and style so unlike those that had dumb shows earlier, that the recrudescence is not agreeable. Yet it is interesting as attesting the survival of that one kind of chorus which alone was peculiar to English use and which was carried to its greatest excellence in *Henry the Fifth*. As possibly clinching proof that the chorus was dead by 1625, it may be mentioned that Richard Brome did not attempt to introduce it into any of his plays under either Jonsonian or classical forms. If the device could have succeeded, it is surely not going too far to say that Brome would doubtless have employed it.

### III. THE INDUCTION

Character and Function.—Examples of Variety of Types.

From what has been said of the short life and the handicapping effect of the chorus in English drama, it may justly be held as exotic. The induction merits almost the same comment, for its career not only resembles that of the chorus in brevity and superfluousness, but is identical with it in some of its manifestations, notably in the framework type of chorus. The chief distinction to be drawn is that in the latter case the opening scene or prologue is continued between acts as chorus, whereas the induction is without continuation. Although these are technical rather than actual differences, the induc-

tion as such seems to sustain a less artistic relation to the drama than does the almost identical framework-chorus. If the induction is in some cases almost the same as the chorus, it is in others not unrelated to the prologue in function. While the chorus should contribute an essential part of the emotional and literary effect of the drama, the prologue, being an affair between the author and his audience, has no necessary relation to the effect of the drama. Two sorts of induction, corresponding to these distinctions, are found in drama. The time of their greatest popularity is, roughly speaking, the last thirteen years of Elizabeth's reign,<sup>1</sup> although they were known before and after that time. They are often used as settings for prologues; occasionally also as a medium through which the poet may present his ideas to the audience.<sup>2</sup> They also serve as emotional indicators of the drama which they introduce.<sup>3</sup> But inductions fall short of truly choric power because, being dramatic scenes, they cannot interpret the play with the immediacy of the chorus; and of truly prological power because the author cannot speak to the audience in his own person. Inductions most truly deserve their name when the plays which they introduce depend upon them, in effect at least, for their existence.<sup>4</sup> Not all inductions, however, lead into the play in any vital sense. Some are used as means to satirize and ridicule;<sup>5</sup> others to praise an individual;<sup>6</sup> some, and these are invariably inductions in the best sense, are solely for artistic ends;<sup>7</sup> some are pronouncedly didactic and critical;<sup>8</sup> some are mere bids for a laugh;<sup>9</sup> some embody the spirit of the old *estrif* or *débat*,<sup>10</sup> resembling in this respect the contemporary

<sup>1</sup> Inference drawn from dated plays.

<sup>2</sup> In Jonson and Marston.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. some revenge plays; induction to Marston's *What You Will*.

<sup>4</sup> The two *Shrew* dramas, etc.

<sup>5</sup> Jonson's, etc. Cf. Symmes, p. 148, note.

<sup>6</sup> *Misfortunes of Arthur*.

<sup>7</sup> *Old Wives' Tale*, etc.

<sup>8</sup> Jonson's.

<sup>9</sup> Shakespeare's *Shrew*.

<sup>10</sup> *Mucedorus*; *Soliman and Perseda*.

chorus-method. The induction is found in cycle plays,<sup>11</sup> although not as a form consciously used. There it is often merely an antecedent action in a continuous history, although it may be as well a mere curtain raiser without obvious pertinency.<sup>12</sup> Inductions are almost invariably in contrast to the action or story of the drama they introduce; their natural use seems to be in connection with dramas whose action is framed in a contrasting action.

Peele's *Wily Beguiled* has an induction in contention style without choric continuation; *The Misfortunes of Arthur* has as introduction a fanciful and labored representation arranged merely to lead up to a fulsome compliment to the queen; Fabel's fettering of the devil in *The Merry Devil of Edmonton* is an induction having some slight allegorical reference to the ensuing drama and employing one of the *dramatis personae* in its action. Shakespeare's *Shrew* has as induction the chorus-type extraneity of the old *Shrew* cut down and deprived of continuation. It is less artistic, considered in its relation to the main action, because Sly is brought on the stage and then forgotten; but it is more complete in dramatic details. Sly the second is more of a character than his original. Sly the first is easily convinced of his changed identity; Sly the second requires more persuasion, so that the noble lord must add his voice to that of his servants. Consequently, the second induction is not only longer than the first, but is also more coherent dramatically. On the other hand, because Shakespeare makes no further use of Sly, the induction seems a mere appeal to those in the audience who would relish a practical joke, and is a rather clumsy adjunct of the drama. The induction to *Antonio and Mellida* represents all the actors as coming upon the stage and quizzing each other concerning their various rôles and characters. This is exactly the material used by Jonson in *Every Man Out of His Humor* in the paragraphs of analytical description entitled "Characters of the

<sup>11</sup> York VII as preliminary to York IX.

<sup>12</sup> Chester *Lazarus*, where the title story is preceded by the story of Cecus.

Persons," but here forced on the audience by Marston as part of the performance. Possibly something more was meant by this than is evident on the face of it, for the plays belong to the years of the War of the Theatres, and may contain some allusion now missed, which was clear to those concerned. In Marston's *What You Will*, the style of the induction suggests Jonson. This induction, written in 1601, may have been alluded to in the next year by Polonius, who quotes *verbatim* a large part of it: "Is't comedy, tragedy, pastoral, moral, nocturnal, or historie?—Faith, perfectly neither, but even *What You Will*." If the original of this speech of Polonius were aimed at Shakespeare, the jest is then on Marston, since "he laughs best that laughs last." In the induction to *The Malcontent*, there are statements which Jonson seems to have made use of. Sly says of the audience at a play: "any man that hath wit, may censure, if he sit in the twelve-penny roome." In the induction to *Bartholomew Fair*, Jonson makes the scrivener greatly extend this liberty, allowing every spectator, under certain more or less witty provisos, to censure to a degree exactly equalling the price of his admission. Middleton's inductions are prefixed to *Michaelmas Term* and to *The Game at Chess*.<sup>13</sup> Both are allegorical and symbolical. The three terms at law, personified, carry on the action of the first drama; Error and Ignatius Loyola that of the second. They are quite unlike in tone. In *Michaelmas Term*, the mood is jestingly satirical; in *The Game at Chess*, the satire is much more biting and the play is presented through the agency of Error, whom Loyola awakens from a lovely dream. This dream is then enacted as the play. In this case, the induction logically brings on the play; it is so much a necessary preparation as to follow the prologue. There is no extant prologue to *Michaelmas Term*; the induction is merely the presentation by *dramatis personae* of a little jovial satire and of the an-

<sup>13</sup> *Your Five Gallants* has a pantomimic prelude which is not a true induction. It is described in the stage direction as *Hactenus quasi inductio*. It may, therefore, have been expanded in the actual performance.

nouncement of the general course of the play. The second and third plays of the *Parnassus* group have inductions as well as prologues. In the second, the prologue speaker is halted in his lines by the stage keeper, who pours ridicule upon the hypocrisy of prologues in general by crying,

Sirra, begone! you play noe prologue here,  
Call noe rude hearer gentle, debonaire.  
We'le spend no flatteringe on this carpinge croude,  
Nor with gold tearmes make each rude dullard proude.

In the third play, the general prose dialogue of the induction precedes the blank verse prologue. The induction is long, conducted by four personages in series of dialogues, two and two. Although the talk covers matters concerning the two previous plays, the tone is satirical and the dialogue largely horse-play. In *The Downfall of Robert, Earl of Huntington*, there is another instance of the induction's really leading into the play. But such close relation is not usual. In this particular case, the induction may, by a stretch of the imagination, be regarded as a kind of framework type of chorus, since it explains Skelton, who later relies on that explanation when he forgets to keep to the rôle assigned him for the play. There is thus, throughout the main action, a recurrence of the action indicated by the induction.

#### IV. THE PROLOGUE, THE EPILOGUE, AND THE DEDICATION

Prologues and Epilogues far antedate Other Forms in England.—(a) *The Dedication*.—Many Classes.—Divers Values and Functions.—(b) *The Prologue and the Epilogue*.—Their Mediaeval Origins.—Their Functions and Characters—Their English Uses.—Their Popularity.—Their Speakers and Writers.—Written both in Verse and in Prose.—They reveal Partisanship in Reformation Drama.—They fill Gaps in the History of Early Drama.—They disclaim Personal Satire.—Their Metres.—In the Stuart Transition Period.—Summary.

As thus outlined, the induction has less significance in English drama than have the other non-organic or extraneous

forms, and appears during a much shorter period. While the formal chorus and the induction may be regarded as exotic, the other formal extraneities seem, in contrast, little short of indigenous. They are almost co-eval with the regular drama,<sup>1</sup> and remain throughout its course, one sometimes more a fashion than the other, yet all, save dedicatory epistles, dating from the earliest times. These non-organic elements—prologues, epilogues, and addresses of various kinds—present the author, editor, or publisher face to face with the person or persons who it is known or hoped will be well-disposed toward the poet and the play; they are too distantly related to the drama to have any real influence upon it, either to hinder its career or to mar its form; and doubtless their long life is due somewhat to this fact. A more base, but no less valid, reason for their continuance lies in the money compensation. Five shillings for prologue and epilogue, on occasion ten shillings,<sup>2</sup> from Henslowe and other dictators to playwrights; a “brace of Angels” from the obliged lord to the writer of a dedicatory epistle—such remuneration may well have been grateful to threadbare poets with a thirst for sack. The possibility, also, of more than mere money returns, in the case of dedications, must largely have determined the enormous vogue of this form. Printers’ letters were, as some of them specifically acknowledged, for the printer’s profit, yet occasionally, as for instance in the cases of Blount and Kirkman, printers were prompted by a real love of literature and a wish to share it with all possible readers.<sup>3</sup>

Prologues and epilogues are presumably addressed to hearers; other forms, exclusive of the induction, to readers. Although there are extremely early instances of prologues and epilogues, the other forms are in the main found after the invention of printing. There are a few examples that may indicate manu-

<sup>1</sup> *I.e.*, drama as distinguished from liturgical plays.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Henslowe’s *Diary* (Collier edition), pp. 229 and 207.

<sup>3</sup> Kirkman had copies of nearly all the plays of any worth before his day, and evidently had a literary interest in them, quite apart from commercialism.

script publicity: namely, the stanza of four verses that follows the *Doomsday* of the Chester cycle:

To hym this booke belongs,  
I wishe contynuall health,  
In daily vertues for to flow,  
With floudes of godly wealth; } Pray ever,

the epilogue which follows the *Te Deum* in the Digby *Magdalens*:

If anything amiss be,  
Blame cunning, and not me.  
I desire the readers to be my friend,  
If there be any amiss, that to amend;

and the prologue to the "far earlier type"<sup>4</sup> of drama entitled *Burial and Resurrection of Christ*, where the appeal is far more poetical:

A soul that list to sing of love  
Of Christ . . . .  
Rede this treyte, it may him move,  
And may him teche lightly with awe,  
Of the sorow of Mary sumwhat to knawe.

If these recognitions of readers antedate printing, they yet have no function not shared by those that come after, though they have naturally less range and variety than later pieces with a like aim. In style they are simpler than their successors of post-renaissance times and are distinguishable in form from the drama to which they are a sort of epilogue and prologue.

#### (a) *The Dedication*

The inference that the classical Renaissance brought the literary patronage of antiquity more abundantly to the notice of English writers is inevitably forced upon anyone who reads the dedications prefixed to English plays. They began to be written in 1566 and almost without exception referred to classi-

<sup>4</sup> Cf. A. W. Ward, *History of English Dramatic Literature*, I, 96.

cal parallels. In the year just noted, John Studley addressed to Lord Cecil a translation of the *Agamemnon* of Seneca.<sup>5</sup> But the example which he set was not universally followed, for the author of play or translation was not invariably the writer of the dedication. A printer sometimes offered an "orphant" play to a noble lord, or a friend to letters exhumed a buried play and found a titled patron for it. Actors signed, although they did not write, the prefatory matter of Shakespeare's and of Beaumont and Fletcher's first folios. In the case of Brome's plays, a *dilettante* who happened to have the same name edited the plays and wrote most of the prefaces and dedications. In that expressive age, the professional men of letters were not easily distinguishable from the amateurs, for all alike had solved the riddle of an adequate style.

Dedications as they have come down to us, are of various classes: those to definitely named men and women known more or less familiarly to the writer; those addressed to the readers under that title; those of more or less literary character, facetious or fantastical, addressed to fictitious dedicatees, such as the World, Signior Nobody, the ghosts of Hannibal and Scipio. But such imaginative flights are exceedingly rare, More frequently, institutions are dedicatees: the Inns of Court, the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge, the court of the ruling sovereign, the City of London. Once, the Queen's Majesty's Company of players is a dedicatee; and more than once, shoemakers and 'prentices are suitable dedicatees of plays written to honor the "gentle craft" and its fellows. The largest class, that of individual dedicatees, includes king, queen, Prince Henry, various dukes and earls, baronets, knights; women, both titled and bourgeois; gentlemen, both famous and unknown. Fellow poets are often, and in some cases pathetically, addressed in dedicatory epistles.

Dedications have divers values. Rarely, one may help to determine an epoch in dramatic history, as for example, Thomas Newton's dedication to the collected *Tenne Tragedies* of Seneca

<sup>5</sup> Mentioned in J. O. Halliwell's *Dictionary of Old Plays*, p. 5.

which his legal confrères had translated and published at various times previously. This dedication was one of the many and varied attempts to justify the stage against the Puritans. Although the general quarrel is too well known to need more than mention, Newton's letter is interesting in its relation to one result of the controversy. The situation of the contestants was such that attacks upon the drama resulted in driving it back from the promised land of art for art's sake to the artistically barren ground of moral justification. Newton was, of course, a friend to drama; yet probably no one man did more to start this retreat than he in this dedication,<sup>6</sup> though it is not impossible that the state of siege in which drama so long remained was the real reason for the power ascribed to Newton's letter. The Puritan charge included the assertion that drama was immoral in tendency and in influence. Although Newton makes no attempt to justify drama, very wisely confining his comment to Seneca, the reference is obviously broader. He writes to confute "some sqeymish Areopagites" who have "surmyzed" that Seneca praised ambition, cruelty, and incontinence, and in some cases ratified tyranny; and that he therefore "can not be digested without great danger of infection." "If it might please these hostile commentators" Newton writes, "to mark and consider the circumstances, why, where, and by what maner of persons such sentences are pronounced, they can not in any equity otherwise choose, but find good cause ynough to leade them to a more fauorable and milde resolution. For it may not at any hand be thought and deemed the direct meaning of Seneca himself, whose whole wrytynges . . . . are so farre from countenauncing Vice, that I doubt whether there bee any amonge all the Catalogue of Heathen wryters, that with more grauity of Philosophical sentences, more waightiness of sappy words, or greater authority of sound matter beateth down sinne, loose lyfe, dissolute dealinge, and unbrydled sensuality," etc., a passage interesting not only as embodying the exalted opinion English playwrights held of Seneca, but as

<sup>6</sup> Symmes, *op. cit.*, p. 66.

showing how inadequately such a reply met the real objection, in spite of its general good sense. This particular line of apology and defence appears again and again throughout the courses of English drama,<sup>7</sup> specifically in both prologues and epilogues, and implicitly in many choruses, thus substantiating what has already been said about the danger of ascribing too much potency to Newton's dedication.

Many of the tragedies in this collection of Newton's had already been published with dedications. It was quite a common occurrence for dedications not to be contemporaneous with their dramas. In the early part of the period under consideration, dramas were written to be acted without any thought of publication through printing, and were consequently without dedications. These additions were sometimes made many years after the play was written. But when plays were almost simultaneously staged and published, as they came to be after Shakespeare's time, the dedication is presumably often written at the same time as the prologue and the epilogue. Examples of the first class are Heywood's dedication of Marlowe's *Jew of Malta*, and many addresses of stationers and publishers. To the second class belong numbers of dedications by Shirley, Ford, and their contemporaries. The amount of dedicatory material prefixed to a play varies, from the brief Latin dedication in Marston's *Malcontent*, to the eight dedications in Randolph's *Jealous Lovers*<sup>8</sup> in both Latin and English.

Dedicatory epistles are much more monotonous than prologues and epilogues, as they consist largely of personal compliment addressed to the dedicatee and of more or less self-depreciation of the author. Indeed, the apologetics of dedications constituted a convention that was censured in its own time: Alexander Brome, in the dedication of Richard Brome's plays, condemns in no uncertain terms the hypocrisy of the general custom. In view of the fact that the commercial and ambitious

<sup>7</sup> Cf. *infra*, p. 243.

<sup>8</sup> Plurality in dedications was a contemporary fashion, seen perhaps more frequently in connection with poems than with dramas, but evident in *Sun's Darling*, and in the revised version of *Tancred and Gismunda*.

desires of the writer must have been known to the dedicatee on principle if not in the particular instance, these repeated declarations of unworthiness are denuded of every shred of charm. Their only excuse, and it has been shown<sup>9</sup> to be at least a sufficient explanation, lies in the contemporary conditions affecting the economic position of the dramatist. The securing of patronage was often a vital necessity. If, in too many cases, the tone is over-laudatory and the expressions are oratorical and studied, yet now and then, as in Heywood's epistles, the writer's happy spirit imparts freshness to the old phrases; or, as in Shirley's dedication to Prynne, his quick-glancing mind discovers some novel aspect of an old idea. But the tone of dedications is necessarily monotonous, for in the nature of things innovation would be difficult, and if attempted might be so misunderstood as to fail of its object.

In the case of addresses prefixed to complete editions of a great man's work, some of the foregoing comment must be modified. Where the advantage to the dedicatory is no longer the sole, or even the chief consideration, the tone of almost servile adulation yields to one of manly confidence. Moreover, the critical function of these addresses must be taken into account, as it serves to throw light not only upon the poet, but also upon his art. Sometimes it is classical or enduring criticism, as in Jonson's estimate of Shakespeare; sometimes it is only fashionable and temporary, as in Shirley's opinion of Beaumont and Fletcher; but in either case, it has essential or historical importance and sometimes both. Of anything like folio or definitive editions of a dramatist, there are five examples in approximately the period covered by this paper: the folio edition of Jonson, 1616, put through the press by the poet himself; that of Shakespeare, 1623; the collection of Llyl's six greatest comedies printed in 1632; Marston's tragedies and comedies, 1633; and the folio edition of Beaumont and Fletcher, 1647. The editions of Llyl, of Shakespeare, and of Beaumont

<sup>9</sup> Cf. *The Literary Profession in the Elizabethan Age*, by Phoebe Sheavyn, Manchester, 1909.

and Fletcher were all financed and engineered by printers and publishers, with the willing though less important collaboration of actors interested in perpetuating the memory of great dramatic poets. Llyly's comedies, as published by Edward Blount, contain printer's addresses only—one dedicatory, the other to the reader—but reveal a printer who was at the same time an appreciator. Men of letters wrote, though actors signed, the prefatory matter of the folios of Shakespeare and of Beaumont and Fletcher. In the work which Ben Jonson saw through the press, there is none of this ornament. The Shakespeare folio is thus the first edition in which the dedications are for more than one play. The Beaumont and Fletcher folio is modelled after the Shakespeare folio, as is acknowledged in the dedication addressed to the survivor of the dedicatees of the 1623 volume.

Doubtless Jonson and Shirley were both actuated in their criticism by a wish to say nothing but good of the dead; but time has decided in favor of the critical acumen of Jonson. Yet both said, in their different ways, very much the same things; they merely applied them to different subjects. Had Shirley been a better critic, he might not have been able to follow Jonson's lead with such good will. The critical functions of such dedications are to be noted also in dedications of single plays, although the expression of them is less deliberate and conscious. These lesser dedications often constitute records of the history of the play dedicated.<sup>10</sup> They may contain all sorts of matter suited to the situation existing between a possible patron and a suitor for his favors; but as a fact they seldom show such range, confining themselves, for the most part, to compliment and flattery, with references, more or less obscure, to biographical facts.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. Shirley's *Gentleman of Venice*; Cokaine's *Obstinate Lady*; Heywood's addresses and dedications generally.

*(b) The Prologue and the Epilogue*

There remain for consideration those non-organic parts of drama that have been longest and best known, namely, prologues and epilogues. The latter form, throughout the period of drama here considered, has been less important and less prominent than the former. It had its germ in the *Te Deum*, as has been noted. As time passed, it received accretions which, whether musical or verbal, were largely glorifications of God, or of the hero or the heroine of the drama. In the English cycles, God, Jesus, Mary, Herod, and others are recipients of this kind of notice, which is greater or less without apparent regard to precedent or standard. Sometimes there is obvious reversion to earlier forms, as for instance, in the Towneley *Juditium* and the Croxton *Sacrament*, where the *Te Deum* is the sole conclusion. In the Digby *Magdalen* the *Te Deum* preceding the actual conclusion of the play serves to accentuate the epilogical character of this part. The musical origin of the epilogue doubtless accounts for the fact that the epilogues in many of the cycle plays are distinctly lyrical in tone and that lyrical quality is found in epilogical speeches in morality plays of a much later date.<sup>11</sup>

The epilogue addressing spectators in farewell is found clearly functioning in the York *Baptism of Jesus*, where John turns to the audience and gives them the blessing of God; but it is not separated from the text of the last speech of the play proper nor has it the mundane quality that is implied in the ordinary use of the term "epilogue." In the Digby *Conversion of St. Paul*, however, the play ends with what is a true epilogue in everything but name, in which the actors, "lackyng lytturall scyens," apologize for their crude performance. This expression of humility characterizes scores of epilogues in later plays, some of which are formally termed epilogues, while others are unnamed and as informal as the epilogues of Terence and Plautus.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. *Wit and Science*, *Roister Doister*, *Wealth and Health*, *Disobedient Child*, *Damon and Pithias*, etc.

The most obvious classification of epilogues is into those that "draw from" the play and those that do not. Of the first class, either the subject-matter of the epilogue carries on the subject-matter of the drama by means of specific reference, or the dramatic illusion is kept up by the fact that the speaker of the epilogue is one of the leading *dramatis personae*. Under this second condition, the epilogue has a tendency to be informal. Jonson, with characteristic amplitude, permits Macilente, in *Every Man Out of His Humor*, both an informal and a formal epilogue. It will be remembered also that Rosalind speaks the epilogue to *As You Like It*, and Volpone the epilogue to the play of that title. Of epilogues thus assigned, the subject-matter as well as the rôle of the speaker is apt to be largely referential to the play.

By sheer force of position, the epilogue was deprived of many of the functions of the prologue. It could excuse the play and send the audience away pleased, but its field was so narrow that the danger of monotony was often upon the dramatist before he could see to escape it. The epilogue was usually perfunctory and conventional, when prepared and not extempore. In the latter case, it might, in emergency, have very real value in saving the day for play or actors or in intensifying a dramatic triumph. But of these impromptu epilogues there is all too little trace, though they must have existed, since the drama of the time received so many impromptu contributions. Doubtless, the impromptu prologue was also frequent,<sup>12</sup> especially in the days when the prologue and the epilogue approached equivalency. For the careers of the two forms are not parallel. The history of the prologue is much more varied than that of the epilogue. The prologue is the earliest of all extraneous parts of English drama to attain conscious form.<sup>13</sup> It is recognized during the period of cyclical plays, for it occurs sporadically in all the great collections of miracle plays, and with very definite

<sup>12</sup> Cf. the extempore prologue of Posthast, at the beginning of Act II of *Histrionemastix*, and Sly's statement, in the Induction to *The Malcontent*, that he will give a prologue extempore.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. York XII: *Annunciation*.

extraneousness, sometimes, in single plays. For example, in one of the Norwich plays,<sup>14</sup> two prologues are provided to meet two unlike conditions of representation. Although it does not outlast the epilogue, it is more frequently found in extant plays. Whether this fact be due to material losses or to less tangible causes can not be determined; yet, from frequent hints in the drama from time to time, of the epilogue as a vehicle for apology, those plays that needed no excuse may conceivably have been sometimes presented without any. Moreover, the genealogy of the prologue makes its explanatory function clear and will account for its use in many dramas of the time. It served both the changing conventions and the varying needs of a growing drama, bringing before a large and heterogeneous audience topics that would not otherwise get a popular hearing; and, although it almost entirely fails to reflect the social changes of contemporary England, and has comparatively little to say of other movements, leaving the major part of all such matters to the drama proper, it contains indications of the progress of the Reformation, of the War of the Theatres, and of the Puritan Attack, ever increasing its reaction to this opposition until, in the reigns of James and Charles I, its utterances are ominously darkened by the clouds of the final storm.

In English drama, both prologue and epilogue are early found associated with tragedy as well as with comedy, in disregard of classical usage and perhaps in unconscious recognition of the essential artificiality of the forms. Yet it is to a knowledge of the prologues and epilogues of classical antiquity that English usage is due. Even the tradition of the Roman *mimus*, to which some prologues seem traceable, is at bottom classical; and the possible influence of the prological portions of folk-drama may also be classical, since the schoolmaster has always linked Boeotia to Parnassus.<sup>15</sup> The subsidiary influence of the St. George and Sword plays must have accounted

<sup>14</sup> Text B of the Grocers' Pageant.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. Chambers, *Mediaeval Stage*, I, 219.

for some of the sporadic traces of classical usage. But as humanistic learning spread, and as drama rapidly matured both in form and in structure, these forces necessarily dwindled even to the vanishing point, while the influence of Terence and Plautus expanded. The prologues of Terence, whence later writers undoubtedly received many suggestions for their own handling of these forms, are personal ebullitions, not unlike Jonson's in this respect; and Terence's attitude toward his audience is somewhat bullying when he conveys information, as if the spectators were children who had to be coerced in order that ideas might reach their minds. The prologues of Plautus, on the other hand, have more variety both of tone and of reference, and offer types that later were of wider popularity in English drama than were those of Terence. The sharp, familiar talk to the audience is heard in the prologues of both these comedy writers, but in Plautus the prological material extends over a discussion of the plot and the characters of the drama. Plautus also personifies abstractions and allots to them the presentation of introductory material. The epilogues of Terence are characteristically brief and informal, being hardly more than the request for applause, and spoken generally by one of the cast as he leaves the stage. Occasionally this speech is given to some other actor. Although in Plautus the epilogue is often spoken by the whole troupe of comedians, it is sometimes spoken by a single player and sometimes by a special actor, chosen only for this part. All these types are found in English prologues and epilogues, with inevitable developments to suit the growth of English drama and the changing relations between people and stage.

Whatever keenly concerned the stage was likely to find utterance in prologues; with regard to other matters, that was as the author chose. Prologues falling under any of the classifications here given had the inevitable defects of their moral or utilitarian purposes, and, at least in the early years, showed very few literary or artistic qualities. Yet, at the other extreme, there are prologues as literary as sonnet form and idea

can make them. Between these limits there is a wide variety in form, in quality, in function. Of frequent occurrence are epic or narrative prologues, delivered by personages ranging from Ghosts and Homer down to lisping children in arms; expressed in every shade of tone and grade of quality, from the merely perfunctory of the average dramatist up to the intensities of Jonson; and comprising the gay and the grave, the jovial, the merely clever, the "witty," and the "conceited." Although satirical prologues are comparatively infrequent, it is no unusual thing to find part of a prologue here and there given over to ridicule of a prevailing fashion in speech, dress, or mode of thought. The merely expository prologue is frequent to weariness, and is hardly to be distinguished from the pedestrian, perfunctory one. The apologetic prologue, the continuation of the argument begun in Thomas Newton's dedication, never disappears from English drama, whether it defend the play written during the Reformation or that one staged in the last years of the reign of Charles I. Straight through the lifetime of English drama the cry is, "Our play is pure and moral; you will be better for seeing and hearing it." From the moralities down to Fletcher and Massinger, the slogan changes only in its vocabulary. The prologue speaker in *Everyman* declares:

This mater is wonders precyous,  
But the entent of it is more gracyous  
And swete to bere awaye;

and the writer of the prologue for a revival of Beaumont and Fletcher's *Loyal Subject* refers to the general characteristics of Fletcher's work as sufficiently identifying this piece:

The mirth joined with grave matter and intent  
To yield the hearers profit, with delight.

It is also to be noted that the advertisement of the play in the prologue was of only two kinds in the early history of the drama—a play was declared to be either for instruction or for de-

light—and few and rare were those in the second category.<sup>16</sup> In spite of the fact that not a few prologues echo the Horatian golden mean, "eke mirth and also care," most of those that do so belong to the plays with a "sad" purpose, and use Horace's recipe as a pillmaker might use a few more grains of sugar. The early prologues, advertising tiresome didacticism as mirth, may be compared with the equally inconsistent prologues of the decadence, which, without moral uplift, expressly claimed that advantage as one of the effects of hearing the play.

As already noted, prologue material is both dramatically and expositarily presented. There are numerous inductions which do the work of prologues, having sometimes all the value of a curtain raiser and again being merely conversations between personages interested diversely in the drama to follow. Sometimes these induction-prologues literally lead into the play and bear a closer relation to it than the ordinary prologue bears. For instance, ghosts incite to vengeance and the drama is consequently set going; goddesses wish to test their powers and are adjudged respective strength according as they handle well or ill the human drama by which they prove their ability. Such prologues and epilogues have been sufficiently treated under the chorus and the induction. It may be noted in passing, however, that such non-organic elements are always dramatic in form; that the personages appearing in them usually have *rôles* whose reference to the action of the drama proper is most clearly declared on the first and last occasion of their appearance; and that between acts they function as chorus. It may be further noted that, whereas in Seneca the ghost incited to action and furnished reasons for the plot, in English the usage is much more varied. In the cycle-plays, angels were the supernatural agencies for this purpose. Later, the vice was the intriguer, his malice shaping and coloring what had been the rather uncertain function of the angel. Later still, the Senecan ghost and his Italian colleagues were imported as extraneous inciters to drama. Finally, as has been noted,

<sup>16</sup> Cf. Gayley, *Plays of Our Forefathers*, p. 334.

this function of the ghost secured his admission among the personages of the play and his absorption into the action.

During the history of prologue and epilogue there is discernible a change in the audiences addressed. In the earliest plays the *dramatis personae* were often the objects of recognition. When the audience of the theatre was formally noticed, it became evident that the speaker recognized not only spectators in general, but those on the stage itself, and both social and intellectual grades among those in the remainder of the house. It is not unusual to find in some of the early plays a formal prologue for the spectators and a second one opening the play and directed to the *dramatis personae*. When such duplications occur in miracle plays, the prologue to the spectators is usually a later addition; their occurrence in later plays marks these as under the influence of an earlier tradition.

The abundance of prologues and epilogues throughout the whole period of English secular drama is a noticeable feature.<sup>17</sup> Opposed to the early material evidence of their popularity is the later outcry against them by the dramatists themselves. The inferences permitted by such facts are, perhaps, that lack of prologue and epilogue here and there in the period of the moralities is due chiefly to the operation of time and neglect upon the first and last leaves of paper books; and that the later omissions are more largely the deliberate act of the dramatist. All data lend themselves to the conclusion that prologue and epilogue were little less popular than the drama they accompanied. Taken in connection with the limited vogue of the chorus, they attest the good sense of the playwright, who soon got rid of the chorus which was a clog upon his artistic freedom, but retained those forms through which he could make himself and his art more intelligible and more attractive.

At first, these non-organic parts may be considered as spoken by the author. "Baleus Prolocutor" and his tribe were later supplanted by various speakers, sometimes an actor in his own

<sup>17</sup> In spite of the fact that the *Cambridge History*, VI, 186, speaks of them as an innovation!

person, sometimes one of the *dramatis personae*, rarely one of the "women" in the cast; occasionally by a personage totally unconnected with the play, but popular and sure of a welcome; and often by a speaker unidentified and merely a mechanical representative of the dramatist, a mouthpiece for his ideas.

Prologues and epilogues, being essentially intermediaries between author and audience rather than between drama and audience, are not only more personal than any other extranеties of drama, but respecters of persons to the extent that different prologues and epilogues were written for a play represented under different conditions. Some plays were staged at court, some in private houses, some in public theatres. Plays destined for presentation at more than one of these places had in general separate prologues and epilogues for the court. It became customary toward the beginning of the seventeenth century to furnish new prologues and epilogues when plays were revived. Henslowe has recorded<sup>18</sup> the payment of five shillings to Henry Chettle in 1602 for a prologue and epilogue for the court; and the same amount to Middleton for the same additions to the "playe of Bacon for the corte." In 1601, Dekker got ten shillings from Henslowe instead of the usual five "for a prologue and a epiloge, for the playe of Ponesciones pillet." These entries not only show that revived plays were furbished by means of new extranеties, but give us leave to infer that prologues and epilogues were written by others than the authors of the plays. Thomas Heywood, Shirley, and Glapthorne have published numbers of separate prologues and epilogues, intended not only for other men's plays, but doubtless for shifts for their own, to give a new appearance to an old play. The prologues to collections of dramas are also, if in a slightly different sense, separate. The earliest prologues of this sort, the *Banns*, were cried several days before the dramas were acted. Such prologues seem also to have gone over to popular amusements—if the influence is not indeed in the reverse direction—as may be seen from a pseudo-interlude or

<sup>18</sup> Cf. Collier's *Henslowe*, 228-229.

“banes” dating about 1503, and intended, it is supposed, for a May game.<sup>19</sup>

In view of the general custom in Elizabeth’s reign of disregarding the shifting bounds of literary *meum* and *tuum*, it is hard to say that there is such a thing as a borrowed prologue. The earliest instance that may be cited is not a formal prologue; but it has been pointed out<sup>20</sup> that the introductory speech by the friar in John Heywood’s *The Pardoner and the Frere* is directly taken from Chaucer’s Pardoner. In later prologues under the influence of Seneca and Terence, similar appropriations are to be noted, though on a less extensive scale.<sup>21</sup> There are data for the supposition that prologues were also borrowed in the sense that the same prologue served two men for two different plays. Epilogues are in similar case. The prologue to Beaumont and Fletcher’s *Noble Gentleman* was published later with *Thierry and Theodore*. One and the same epilogue appears with both *The Noble Gentleman* and *The Woman Hater*. Such borrowings are, of course, “among friends.” But there are more conspicuous cases. The Blackfriars prologue to Lyly’s *Campaspe* was printed as belonging to *The Knight of the Burning Pestle*; Heywood’s *Royal King and Loyal Subject* has an epilogue which appeared also in Henry Shirley’s *Martyred Soldier*. These instances are characteristic of a large class of extraneities and show the perfuctoriness of prologues and epilogues, if not the irresponsibility of publishers or authors or both. In the Stuart dramas, ideas in use in one prologue are found also in others, constituting practically “prologue stock,” if not directly borrowed by one from another. Actual stock prologues are also on record.<sup>22</sup> Indeed, so limited is the range of ideas expressed in prologues and epilogues that these might all be regarded as stock forms were it not for the characteristic styles that distinguish them. The effort to say the old idea in a new way was often highly successful.

<sup>19</sup> Chambers, II, 454.

<sup>20</sup> Karl Young, in *Modern Philology*, II, 197.

<sup>21</sup> Cf. Cunliffe, *Influence of Seneca on Elizabethan Tragedy*; Boas’ ed. of *Kyd*.

<sup>22</sup> Fleay, *Biographical Chronicle of English Drama*, I, 300.

Prologues were often rewritten or revised either to keep pace with a revised drama, or to suit a changed mode of expression. Neither they nor the epilogues invariably accompanied the first appearance of a play; they were added after any performance that gave occasion for such extraneities. Those that were added did not always survive, for they were in many cases "retrenched by the printer, because they could not be brought within the compass of the page, and because he was unwilling to add another leaf."<sup>23</sup> On the other hand, we know from the introduction to the reprint of the first folio of Shakespeare that we owe the epilogue to *2 Henry IV* and the prologue to *Troilus and Cressida* to the unwillingness of the printers of the folio to leave a blank page as witness of printers' haste and miscalculation.<sup>24</sup> Comparison of quartos with each other and with folios reveals the fact that extraneous parts were sometimes supplied after a first edition; that they were sometimes furnished at first and subsequently removed; and that sometimes they remained, although revised and altered. These phenomena are connected sometimes with the history of the play in its external circumstances; sometimes with the writer's mood or with his judgment, or with other causes not readily determined. Translations of classical plays were often supplied with original English prologues and epilogues, which contained somewhat different matter from other prologues and epilogues, being characteristically much more restricted to questions connected with the development of the English language and with the stage history of the play<sup>25</sup>—themes which were proportionately much rarer in prologues to native plays.

Owing to the great number of prologues and epilogues as material for the discussion of their function, it is impossible to comment upon each one. Only those have been noted which may be grouped with reference to particular periods, as the Reformation, or which are otherwise limited and exceptional,

<sup>23</sup> Collier, *Annals*, II, 444.

<sup>24</sup> Cf. p. xxviii and p. xxvii.

<sup>25</sup> Collier, *Annals*, II, 364.

as prose prologues and epilogues. By far the greater number of prologues and epilogues, as well as the earliest ones, are in verse. The first extant prose prologue is prefixed to Gascoigne's *Supposes*, the earliest extant prose drama (1566). The version of *The Marriage of Wit and Science* that was licensed in 1569 has a verse prologue in its extant form, which in the original manuscript was written as prose.<sup>26</sup> This is the first extant example of a difference in rhythmical form between extraneities and drama. Later, Gascoigne's *Glass of Government* shows a like combination in reversed order, the extraneities being in verse and the drama in prose—a combination much more frequently met a little later. In *Promos and Cassandra* the "preface" is in prose. These particular extraneities seem to be the only instances of the use of prose before Llyl. Llyl's dramas show both forms, with prose largely exceeding verse. About this time it became fashionable to put comic characters and comedy into prose. Although the subsequent employment of prose in epilogues and prologues is not wholly according to this convention, it is sufficiently so to warrant the inference that some such principle governed its use. Although prose extraneities are found as late as Brome's *Court Beggar*, they appear then by exception. At that date, drama had lost much of its earlier variety and was largely confined to tragi-comedy. These non-organic elements of drama after Jonson are for the most part in heroic couplets, an artificial style harmonizing with the artificial sentiments expressed.

Among extraneities it is not inevitable that prose in the one should mean prose in the other. *Antonio and Mellida* has a verse prologue and a prose epilogue. The verse prologue is conventional, an apology for the inadequacies of the piece, with an entreaty for the favor of the audience and some very mechanical flattery of their rarity and wit. The epilogue contains a phrase conspicuous in a few dramas at this time and bearing reference to the War of the Theatres. The epilogue speaker says that he remains "an armed epilogue." The same phrase

<sup>26</sup> Hazlitt's Dodsley, vol. II, footnote to explain this prologue.

recurs in the prologues to *Troilus and Cressida* and the *Poet-aster*. In 1629, Randolph revived it in the prologue to *Aristippus*, but in purely literary reference, as his prologue came "armed with arts." In 1639 the phrase was used in the prologues to Glapthorne's *Wit in a Constable* and Burnell's *Landgartha*—doubtless as mere literary allusion. *The Knight of the Burning Pestle* has a prose prologue evidently meant for readers, for it is in the same style and tone as the address *To the Readers of this Comedy* which immediately precedes it, and itself precedes the dramatic induction which contains the conventional prologue. Its exaggerated style is part of the general satiric purpose of the play. In the verse prologue which opens the mixed induction there are echoes of the mannerisms of earlier dramatists, as if in ridicule of their "high astounding terms." In the epilogue, spoken by the citizen's wife, there is still satire, but of the kind seen in Jane Austen's characterization of Miss Bates, or in any other skillful delineation of the comic attributes of an individual, and intended rather for amusement than for castigation. In these extraneities the ends of ridicule have determined the use of the same forms as those inspiring the satire. In the prose epilogue there is only the normal use of prose for pedestrian dialogue. In *Nobody and Somebody*, an earlier play obviously influenced by the traditions of the morality, the prologue, elaborating one of the kinds of "conceits" popular at the time and suggestive of Provençal riddles and other complicated forms of mediaeval verse, is spoken by a mere prologue speaker and is in rime. But the epilogue, by the comic personage, Nobody, is in prose and consists of a series of such puns as are most suggestive of the fools of the dramas.<sup>27</sup> Likewise, in *The Two Merry Women of Abingdon*, the prose extraneity is of the kind uttered by fools, full of "patter," familiar, vivid, undignified. It is given to the prologue. The epilogue, not distinct from the drama proper, is spoken by one of the personages of the play and is in the metre

<sup>27</sup> There is here also a suggestion of the traditions of the mime in the "patter" so clearly discernible.

of the play, although theoretically there is no other reason for its being in verse. In *Lady Alimony*, the satiric-ironical purpose of the author, combined with the detailed attacks he makes—all comic—and the coarse fibre of the whole piece, make prose the only fit medium of expression. Yet the force of convention appears in the fact that a verse prologue follows the prose induction and ushers in the prose play. In *Cynthia's Revels*, a much earlier drama, the purpose is again satirical. The induction, representing a squabble among three boys for the cloak in which to speak the prologue, is in prose; but the prologue speech is in the conventional verse form. The epilogue to the play is also in verse, spoken evidently by a member of the cast who had had a prose part in the play, for on his re-appearance he says he has become a rimer since he went in and announces himself as appointed by the author

to make  
Some short and ceremonious epilogue.

Its character is humorous—not in Jonson's sense of the word—whimsical, and the reverse of ceremonious, concluding with Jonson's extremest fling of arrogant contemptuousness in the famous line,

By God 'tis good, and if you like't you may.

It is not necessary to give further instances of the distinction between the use of verse and that of prose in the extraneous parts of drama. Perhaps the comparative infrequency of prose forms needs less emphasis than the fact that they exist at all. Yet they are found from 1566 until 1640 and are employed generally in accordance with the ordinary notions of the period concerning the functions of prose. The verse extraneities, on the other hand, followed more arbitrary convention and had a much longer vogue. It seems to have been only during the heyday of Elizabethan comic character that prose extraneities were in fashion.

Although, as already noted, these non-organic elements of

drama take small account of the important movements of the times, perhaps because these movements were not "vocal and picturesque,"<sup>28</sup> yet there is a small group of Reformation dramas that needs consideration. Numbering apparently hardly more than a dozen, there is but one for the Catholic side of the controversy. Only about one-fourth of these dramas reveal their partisanship in the extraneous portions. Bale inaugurated the series, setting an example of acrimoniousness which no one else rivalled. *New Custom*, *Respublica*, and *Jacob and Esau* seem the only dramas besides Bale's to affect controversial extran-  
ties. The others express their views through the less personal medium of the dramatic action. Some of Bale's prologues are much more violently anti-papist than his plays.<sup>29</sup> They may be regarded as the essential parts of his dramas, both when he offers

. . . . no trifling sport,  
But the things that shall your inward stomach cheer,  
and when he exhorts men to follow Christ, and not

Francis, Benedict nor Bruno,  
Albert, nor Dominic, for they new rulers invent.

In *New Custom*, an Edward the Fourth play,<sup>30</sup> the prologue, while not explicitly naming papists, is wholly given up to a censure of them. The formal epilogue to this play, praying for the queen, could not have been addressed to anyone but Elizabeth, and must therefore have been added when the play was revived about 1563.<sup>31</sup> The epilogical material seems sufficiently Protestant, Assurance and Converted Perverted Doctrine being prominent among the concluding speakers in praise of true religion. The prologue to *Respublica* is more specific. After declaring that

Time trieth all, and God restores such kingdoms when he pleases,

<sup>28</sup> *Cambridge History*, V, 416.

<sup>29</sup> Especially in *Baptistes*, where the Bible story restrains Bale in the drama proper.

<sup>30</sup> Schelling, *Elizabethan Drama*, II, 395. [Correct text to *Edward VI.—Ed.*]

<sup>31</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 60.

the speaker rejoices that God has sent Mary to reform abuses. Mary, he continues,

... . . . is our most wise and most worthy Nemesis,

who has come to overturn Insolence, Flattery, Oppression, and Avarice, powers which under Edward have had the "Rewle in their possession." The epilogue here is informal, with a suggestion, in its anthem-like quality, of earlier musical conclusions. It contains a prayer for the long reign of Queen Mary to "maintain the Commonwealth." Protestant tendencies appear in both prologue and epilogue to *Jacob and Esau*. Creizenach points out<sup>32</sup> the distinct example in the two brothers, of the Protestant doctrine of predestination, which is enunciated in the prologue:

But before Jacob and Esau yet born were,

Jacob was chosen and Esau reprobate,

and repeated in the epilogue:

Yet not all flesh did he then predestinate,  
But only the adopted children of promise.

If it seems to be one of the superfluities of prologues and epilogues that they so often give us the plot in duplicate, it must be remembered that in those instances where they have survived the play, this defect acquires merit in giving us leave imaginatively to reconstruct the piece. This is true of *A Play to the Country People*, whose prologue is the only proof of the existence of the drama; of *Pride of Life*, whose long prologue serves to show in detail what parts of the play have perished, and to suggest how the writer must have developed it. The Digby *Killing of the Children* also furnishes data otherwise inaccessible, since its prologue names "last year's play," not extant, and its epilogue announces "next year's play," also lost.

There is, as has been suggested, a large class of prologues

<sup>32</sup> Vol. II, p. 559.

and epilogues intended to justify the stage against Puritan enemies. It is not impossible that prologues and epilogues disclaiming personal satire were partly directed toward the same end. This kind of apology appeared very early,<sup>33</sup> and continued very late. *The Conflict of Conscience* is interesting in this connection. It is more often noted for its Reformation bias than for its connection with other topics of interest; one can not blame critics for paying more attention to Satan's elaborate comparison between himself and the Pope in the first act, than to the author's simple statement in the prologue that comedy does not permit a writer to touch particularly the vices of one private man. The explicit definition of comedy implies a denial of personal satire. A reasoned explanation, confined to one prologue, could not, however, convince the theatre-going public as a whole, so that the denial of a special butt for moral applications is repeated again and again. There is probably no year when drama was written that was without at least one instance of such a denial. This state of things might be expected not only from the steadily didactic intention of English drama and from the incessant need to defend the play from possible foes; but also because there was so much actual lampoon and libel, and because the denial of it paid both those who in this way satisfied conscience and those who thereby increased their gate-money. To deny personal satire, as Jonson did, in plays abounding with it, was a very real way to stimulate curiosity.

In addition to what has been said of the use of prose and verse in prologues and epilogues, verse measures need consideration. In the plays immediately following the biblical moralities, prologues and dramas are alike written in tumbling measure. The prologue to *Pride of Life* contains such obvious four-stressed lines as these:

ffor þis oure game schal gin & ende  
throg ihesu crist is swete grace.

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<sup>33</sup> *Ludus Coventriæ*.

In *The Castle of Perseverance* the tumbling metre is still clearly evident:

þus endyth oure gamys!  
To sauе þou fro synnyngē,  
Evyr at þe begynnyngē  
Thynke on þoure last endyngē!

Such passages have a melodic character which renders analysis of the metre easy. In *Mankind*, the low status of the makers and the common character of the audience for which it was written<sup>34</sup> may sufficiently explain the unmusical quality of its tumbling lines:

O, ye soverens that sytt, and ye brothern that stonde ryghte uppe,  
Pryke not your felycytes on thynges transytorye.

Yet it must be admitted that dozens of later moralities have no better tumbling verses than these. Apparently there is nothing but tumbling measure for drama from the time of the cycle-plays until about 1550. *Tom Tyler*, whose date is perhaps less certain than that of some of its contemporaries, shows an iambic line of five accents, rimed in couplets, but wholly unlike the heroic couplet of a later generation. At practically the same time, the septenarius appears in extraneous parts of drama and gradually becomes the rival of the tumbling line. An early instance of its use occurs in the prologue to John Phillips's *Patient Griselda*, licensed 1565-6. Later, it alternates with the line of six accents. The old measures do not die out when the new come into use, for the existence in the nineteenth century of both tumbling measure and rimed iambics sufficiently proves the fact. But the new measures are the fashion for a longer or shorter period after their introduction, and in some cases, as of the heroic couplet in the Stuart period, drive other metres to the wall. A bird's-eye view of the metrical panorama would show tumbling rime, poulters measure, blank verse, prose, heroic couplet—the last named characterizing by far the greatest

<sup>34</sup> See Pollard's introduction to the reprint of this play in the Early English Text Society's Publications.

number of extant prologues and epilogues—as the successively popular rhythms for extraneous parts of drama.

Although the logical relationship of the non-organic extraneities and the play was in general closer before 1642 than after the Restoration, the frequent, conspicuous perfunctoriness of the prologue in Fletcher and his contemporaries, together with complaints of its uselessness by many playwrights during that time, proves sufficiently, perhaps, that throughout the Stuart period it was in transition from its early function, that of furnishing valuable information upon the drama, to its later office of furnishing literary essays upon general themes. It is during this transition period that prologues and epilogues have greatest likeness to each other. The epilogue has, little by little, learned to ask a *plaudite* under many forms more elaborate and varied than those of its literal beginnings, and has apparently enlarged its narrow sphere by an incredible number of devices to avoid monotony in the reiteration of inevitably trite ideas. The prologue has ceased to be laboriously didactic and has learned to have a care how it says its say. Both forms have become polished, though with the change they seem often to have lost all excuse for being, and to have earned the contempt of the dramatists who despised them even while employing them. Although epilogues and prologues illustrate all kinds of utterance, from mere graceful nothingness to elaborate literary criticism, a wearisome proportion of them is mere verbiage—a conventional form destitute of style.

In summarizing, it may be said that the history of prologue and epilogue prior to 1642 shows a steadily increasing use of the forms. The prologue is the earlier used, and is at first essential to the drama. Although not literary, it is a valuable contributor to the history of drama and of literary criticism. Later, it is less expository and didactic; acquires literary quality and distinct form; becomes perfunctory, but, in compensation, is skilful in expression, graceful, witty, or brilliant. Its rhythmic form is generally that of verse, save occasionally where comic emphasis is sought through the use of prose. The verse

changes as English metrical vogue shifts from tumbling metre and early clumsy attempts at blank verse and other kinds of metre to the later and more generally used heroic couplet. The approach to unity of conception and of treatment keeps pace with the metrical development, so that in the Stuart period the heroic couplet is the verse form in which a complete literary unity is presented. Much the same statements must be made for the epilogue, though perhaps Jonson's influence upon it is stronger than his influence on the prologue. He is said<sup>35</sup> almost to have invented the tradition of its regular use. Before his day the use of both forms was irregular, and even afterward, at least as far as we have data for judging, English dramatists seem not to feel these extraneities as obligatory. Beaumont and Fletcher used them sparingly.<sup>36</sup> We are told in the postscript to the first folio that "some Prologues and Epilogues (here inserted) were not written by the Authours of this volume, but made by others on the Revivall of severall Playes;" and we have not only Beaumont's own statement in the prologue to *The Woman Hater* that verse prologues are superannuated, but also explicit reiteration in many of the prologues supplied for revivals of these plays. The fact that both these extraneous parts usually find mention under the one term "prologue," may be regarded as confirmatory of the greater importance of this form.

<sup>35</sup> Article "Epilogue," *Encyclopediæ Britannica*, 11th ed., where it is noted that the epilogue as a distinct literary species is confined to English drama.

<sup>36</sup> See Glover and Waller's edition of Beaumont and Fletcher.

## V. CONTRIBUTION OF THESE NON-ORGANIC ELEMENTS TO THE HISTORY OF THE STAGE

Allusions to Characteristics and Customs of Theatres.—Costume of the Prologue.—Prices of Admission.—The Spectators.—Performances outside of London.—Women and Children in the Audiences.—Stage Fittings.—Public and Private Theatres.—The Companies.—The Dramatist.—Details of Play-History.—The War of the Theatres.—Critical Questions Discussed.—Censure of Contemporary Drama.—Comic Realism Early Recognized.—Uses of the Terms Tragi-Comedy and Comedy.—The Literary Patron.—Data concerning Actors, Playwrights, and Patrons.

In Fleay's two books<sup>1</sup> dealing with the Elizabethan theatre and drama, and in Malone's *Prolegomena* to his edition of the works of Shakespeare, much interesting and valuable information is offered respecting the customs of the theatre, the history of the various London playhouses, and the relation they sustained to municipal and higher authority. Very little of this knowledge has been contributed by the non-organic extraneities of drama; more has been derived from the body of the drama proper; but naturally most has been found in statutes and in documentary data of various sorts. Additional contributions appear in contemporary poems, in satires, in sermons. Of course, stage directions are fruitful sources. and not less so the often violent and prejudiced comments of enemies to actors and the stage. Yet the little that dramatic extraneities contribute is at least thoroughly representative and typical. The theatres do not need naming in prologue and epilogue, to audiences sitting in them during the recital of these parts, so that allusion is all that can be expected. This is too frequent for enumeration. From many specific references it is evident that the Globe and Blackfriars were intimately connected. Plays written for one are unceremoniously assigned to the other<sup>2</sup> and comparisons between the two are instituted by prologue and epilogue speakers.<sup>3</sup> It seems also that the plays at the Globe were in general

<sup>1</sup> *A Biographical Chronicle of the English Drama* and *A Chronicle History of the London Stage*.

<sup>2</sup> Shirley's *Doubtful Heir*, etc.

<sup>3</sup> *Doubtful Heir* and Davenant's *News from Plymouth*.

for a lower class of people than those offered at Blackfriars, for when Shirley's *Doubtful Heir* was put on at the Globe, the prologue speaker explained that the author did not

calculate this play  
For this meridian.

He then characterized the Bankside and admitted that his ware was not preferred there:

Here's no target-fighting  
Upon the stage, all work for cutlers barr'd;  
No bawdry nor no ballads; this goes hard.  
    Oh, now,  
    You squirrels that want nuts, what will you do?  
    Pray do not crack the benches, *etc.*

Mention is also made in this prologue of the much greater size of the rebuilt Globe. In Davenant's *News from Plymouth* the prologue indicates an inferior quality of performances at the Globe during vacation. The play was licensed in August, a time when the playhouse rather promises "shows, dancing, and bucklerfights than art or wit." There is also a definite relation between the court and Blackfriars, for Lyly's court plays are later staged in that private house, as well as one,<sup>4</sup> at least, of Massinger's at a still later period. Blackfriars and the Cockpit presented a similar grade of plays and obviously were more conservative and set higher standards than some of the public theatres. Whitehall and Salisbury Court also produced the same plays.<sup>5</sup> The Curtain was complained of by Webster in the prefatory note to his *White Devil*, as being "open and black" and unfit for a winter theatre. His drama afterwards passed to the Phoenix.<sup>6</sup> In the same way, Brome's *Antipodes*, acted at Salisbury Court, was intended to be played at the Cockpit. This is not known from prologue or epilogue, but from the author's note at the end of the play. The incomplete-

<sup>4</sup> *Emperor of the East.*

<sup>5</sup> E.g., Shakerley Marmion's *Fine Companion*, 1633.

<sup>6</sup> Fleay, *Biographical Chronicle*, II, 271.

ness of much of the information furnished by extraneities has been typified by the circumstance just noted, namely, that the reader can infer only the fact of a relation between two theatres, little or nothing as to the nature or degree of that relation. The characteristics of the various theatres are alluded to more than once. In the induction to *The Knight of the Burning Pestle* it is said of Whitefriars, where this play was produced, "this seven years there hath been plays at this house; I have observed it; you have still girds at citizens." Mr. Fleay interprets this passage as alluding not only to the presenters of the *Burning Pestle*, who were Queen's Revels Children, but also to their predecessors, the King's Revels Boys, or still earlier, to Paul's Boys.<sup>7</sup> The smaller private houses are also indicated. The epilogue to Nabbes's *Tottenham Court* contrasts "my little house," or Salisbury Court, with "others' fill'd Roomes," in favor of the smaller place. Many other references could be cited.

Extraneities also indicate the length of the performance as from three-quarters of an hour if such brevity is necessary, and an hour and a half<sup>8</sup> "if the whole matter be played," to three hours.<sup>9</sup> Two hours, however, is the time oftenest stated for the performance. In the induction to *Bartholomew Fair*, the scrivener tells the audience that they are to sit two and a half hours or more to hear that play. The epilogue to *Ram Alley* regrets the fact that a mere two hours of performance should bring to an end the labor of many tedious hours of preparation. In the epilogue to Middleton's *No Wit, No Help Like a Woman's*, Weatherwise, that suitor to the widow who was always consulting his almanac, speaks the epilogue in character. He pretends to read from the almanac what the weather shall be "just between five and six this afternoon,"<sup>10</sup> thus indicating the usual time for performances to end. The inference then is that plays began

<sup>7</sup> Fleay, *English Stage*, 203.

<sup>8</sup> From stage directions in *Nature of the Four Elements*.

<sup>9</sup> Epilogue to Beaumont and Fletcher's *Loyal Subject*; also *Address to the Reader*, Beaumont and Fletcher First Folio.

<sup>10</sup> Cf. also *The Magnetic Lady*.

about three o'clock. That they were announced by soundings is evident from many stage directions and from some prologues. The impatient prologue of the boys' companies often finds it hard to wait for the third sounding, after which he may speak.<sup>11</sup> The induction generally came after the second sounding.<sup>12</sup> Sometimes the prologue is put thus early.<sup>13</sup> There were in all three soundings<sup>14</sup> before the play proper began. There were also, as is known from many stage directions and some extraneities, musical intermedia of some sort.<sup>15</sup>

The inductions and prologues spoken by members of the children's companies give some idea of the manner and costume of a prologue speaker,<sup>16</sup> and other prologues and epilogues allude to and corroborate these. The "lady prologue" of Shirley's *Coronation* defends herself in such a position on the ground that a woman

once in a Coronation may  
With pardon, speak the prologue, give as free  
A welcome to the Theatre as he  
That with a little Beard, a long black Cloak,  
With a starched face and supple leg hath spoke  
Before the Plays this twelvemonth, *etc.*

Of all matters connected with the theatre as a playhouse, perhaps that of the price of admission is most adequately mentioned in extraneities. Malone notes a penny admission. Although this price is not stated in the extraneities,<sup>17</sup> the two-penny room is frequently alluded to. Sixpence,<sup>18</sup> two shillings,<sup>19</sup> and

<sup>11</sup> E.g., in *Cynthia's Revels*, *Lady Alimony*, etc.

<sup>12</sup> E.g., *Every Man Out of His Humor*, *Cynthia's Revels*.

<sup>13</sup> E.g., *Poetaster*.

<sup>14</sup> *Address to the Reader* in *Satiromastix*.

<sup>15</sup> Prologue to Nabbes's *Hannibal and Scipio*.

<sup>16</sup> E.g., induction to *Cynthia's Revels*.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. Tucca in *Satiromastix*, "A gentleman or an honest Citizen shall not sit in your pennie-bench Theatres," etc.; also, *Wit without Money*, Act IV near end: "Till you break in at Playes like Prentices for three a groat, and crack Nuts with the Scholars in peny Rooms again."

<sup>18</sup> Induction to *Cynthia's Revels*, *Magnetic Lady*; epilogue to Jasper Mayne's *City Match*.

<sup>19</sup> Blackfriars prologue to *Queen of Arragon*.

even two and sixpence (as the cost of a box at the Hope) are mentioned. Jonson, in the verses written for the 1609 edition of *The Faithful Shepherdess*, mentions the charge of sixpence at private theatres. The induction to *The Malcontent* permits any man with wit to censure the play, provided "he sit in the twelve-penny roome."<sup>20</sup> In a very early play whose prologue exists informally in the opening speech of one of the *dramatis personae*, the speaker addresses the audience,

O, ye soverens that sytt, and ye brothern that stonde ryghte uppe, *etc.*,

showing that the better classes had seats, while the "groundlings" stood. These clearly marked distinctions became modified in time until those denominated "brothern" in contrast to their "soverens" equally claimed and secured seats. In the prologue to Shirley's *Example*, the author complains that any base fellow regarded in the parish as not

Thought fit to be o' the jury, has a place  
Here, on the bench, for sixpence; and dares sit  
And boast himself commissioner of wit.

Not all spectators had seats, however, at any time. Jonson mentions "the understanding gentlemen o' the ground,"<sup>21</sup> condemning "the scale o' the grounded judgments here," whence it is clear that the "yard" or floor of the playhouse offered standing room only. Then, as already noted, there were rooms ranging in price from two-pence to half a crown, and private rooms with price not stated. Doubtless these were analogous to present-day playhouse accommodations, which permit a spectator to control one seat in a box or the whole box, according to the usage of the particular theatre. One of Middleton's prologue speakers<sup>22</sup> addresses those of the audience who are above, and then those who are below, showing that the spectators were placed in tiers, as to-day. Moreover, as many

<sup>20</sup> Cf. prologue to *Henry VIII*, for one shilling entrance.

<sup>21</sup> Induction to *Bartholomew Fair*.

<sup>22</sup> *No Wit, No Help Like a Woman's*.

writers inform us, the stage itself was chosen by some spectators. From satirical, irate, and other comments, it is clear that such people came less to see than to be seen. They sat on stools<sup>23</sup> and "drank tobacco,"<sup>24</sup> they scrupled not to crowd out the actors.<sup>25</sup> Jonson's sharpest satiric thrust at them may be, perhaps, in *The Staple of News*, where he introduces four silly women upon the stage. They not only serve Jonson's subtler intention, but are the obvious means of illustrating stage customs. The tiremen come in to trim the lights, whereupon these unsophisticated folk are terrified until reassured by the prologue speaker. It is left for the historian of the stage to interpret this illumination for us as a mark of the private house. The larger theatres were open to the weather and unlighted, whereas such private houses as Blackfriars, the Phoenix, and Salisbury Court were covered and lighted. Early in the history of the gallants upon the stage, they are ridiculed almost without exception. Later, either they must have mended their ways, or the increasing trouble of the dramatist must have led him to conciliate them, for Cokayne addresses them with great urbanity in more than one prologue.<sup>26</sup>

These conspicuous auditors and many less sensational spectators carried "table-books" to the play, in which they wrote down matter for dinner wit or other social profit as the play suggested quotation or comment, approval or objection. Inductions and prologues make frequent mention of this custom.<sup>27</sup> Shirley, in his critical essay introductory to the first folio of Beaumont and Fletcher, declares that it is impossible to estimate "how many passable discoursing dining wits stand yet in good credit upon the bare stock of two or three of these single scenes." Evidently, though not specifically mentioned, these books were the means enabling men of fashion to appear bril-

<sup>23</sup> Prologue to Shirley's *Example*; induction to *Cynthia's Revels*.

<sup>24</sup> Shirley's *Example*.

<sup>25</sup> Prologue to *The Devil is an Ass*.

<sup>26</sup> Prologue to *Trapolin Supposed a Prince* and to *The Obstinate Lady*.

<sup>27</sup> Among the number, induction to *The Malcontent*, prologue to *Hannibal* and *Scipio*, prologue to *The Woman Hater*, first prologue to *The Custom of the Country*.

liant in conversation. Beaumont, in the prologue to *The Woman Hater*, advertising the superior excellence of his play, warns those "lurking in corners with table-books" that the play has nothing ignoble in it. The prologue to *The Ghosts of Hannibal and Scipio* recognizes one

in plush,  
That from the Poets labours in the pit  
Informs himself for th' exercise of wit  
At Tavernes,

and instructs him that he is not to "gather notes." The first prologue to *The Custom of the Country* declares the play so far from offensive that

we dare look  
On any man that brings his table-book,  
To write down, what again he may repeat  
At some great table to deserve his meat.

These playgoers not only wrote their opinion in table-books, but expressed it most unmistakably during the play and after. The prime function of the epilogue, to beg approval, and the explicit statement in many prologues of the power of the audience to damn a play, imply this fact. Many dedications and prologues bear witness that audiences used their prerogative. Jonson admitted that the public disliked *Sejanus*<sup>28</sup> and *Catiline*,<sup>29</sup> and other authors<sup>30</sup> have made similar acknowledgments, less willingly, perhaps, because less contemptuously. Among these plays "condemned," say the authors, "by the vulgar," are *The Magnetic Lady*, Shirley's *Ball*, and Ford's *Love's Sacrifice*. Here and there in a prologue, a poet will vaguely suggest the unpopularity of one of his pieces, leaving it doubtful whether the statement is mere modesty or actual fact. He will also try to secure a favorable verdict, at least until after his benefit night. This came generally with the second or third perform-

<sup>28</sup> Cf. dedication.

<sup>29</sup> Cf. *Address to the Reader*.

<sup>30</sup> *Address to the Reader* in *The Dumb Knight*; prologue to *A Fine Companion*.

ance,<sup>31</sup> and was sometimes ingeniously advertised. One epilogue speaker tells the audience that even if they dislike the play, they must, for the sake of the author and the actors, hide their disappointment and urge all their friends to come the second night, so that the joke will not be wholly on the first night's audience.<sup>32</sup>

Although the London companies often played in the provinces, especially in plague times, almost none of the non-organic forms under discussion indicate audiences not in London. Shirley, of course, wrote prologues and epilogues for Irish performances of his own and others' plays, but they are in addition to the prologues that belong with those plays. There seem to be extant but two extranieties that indicate a play offered to provincial audiences. In the epilogue to the original play of *Timon*, the speaker asks a *plaudite*:

Let loving hands, loude sounding to the ayre,  
Cause Timon to the citty to repaire,

suggesting possibly that the play was tried first in the provincial towns, as so often in the case of present-day plays. The other is *London Chanticleers*, evidently taken from London to the provinces. The prologue speaker says,

You're welcome then to London, which our show,  
Since you mayn't go to that, has brought to you.

Spectators were supposedly men only. Women, if they attended, wore masks.<sup>33</sup> Almost no prologues and epilogues acknowledge the presence of women,<sup>34</sup> although this custom has exceptions in late plays, and is at least once<sup>35</sup> noticeably aban-

<sup>31</sup> For second day, *cf.* prologue to *The Sisters*, *The City Match*. For second or third day, *cf.* prologue to *The Sophy*. For third day, *cf.* prologue to *If This be not a Good Play the Devil is in It*.

<sup>32</sup> *The Sophy*, both prologue and epilogue.

<sup>33</sup> Prologue to *Marston's Fawn*.

<sup>34</sup> Prologue to *Appius and Virginia* (c. 1563) recognizes women in the audience.

<sup>35</sup> Prologue to *Lady Alimony*, where the title and matter of the play explain the address of the prologue.

doned in a prologue addressed wholly to the ladies. Citizens' wives went to the theatre freely, if we may judge by that one of them who figures so prominently in *The Knight of the Burning Pestle*; and their daughters, at any rate toward the end of the period, must have attended, for Glapthorne writes a prologue addressed to citizens in which he says of them:

'Tis your care  
To keep your Shops, 'lesse when to take the Ayr  
You walke abroad, as you have done today,  
To bring your Wives and Daughters to a Play.<sup>36</sup>

It is well known that women of better birth did not attend public theatres. It is equally well known that the players went to the court and to the great houses. From prologues to such performances we know that women were in the audience. Addresses to Queen Elizabeth most readily come to mind in regard to early dramas, and in later ones, to Henrietta Maria. Children are mentioned early as among the audience at a play,<sup>37</sup> and although their prominence on this one occasion is due to the perorator's desire to emphasize his moral, apparently no motive less tiresome would have revealed their presence, for they are not again mentioned, it would seem. It is also noted in a late prologue<sup>38</sup> that the Stuart playgoer now and then went without his dinner in order to secure a good seat at the performance.

The nature of the stage, its arrangement and scenery, is a moot point with the leading critics. Here again, stage directions afford more information than dramatic extraneities; and the dialogue of the main action is more allusive than the speeches of prologue and epilogue. Some stages were hung with arras,<sup>39</sup> others were diversely fitted. The induction to *Lady Alimony* contains this comment upon the piece: "Never was any stage

<sup>36</sup> Prologue to a revived *Vacation Play*.

<sup>37</sup> Epilogue to *The Disobedient Child*.

<sup>38</sup> To Davenant's *Unfortunate Lovers*.

<sup>39</sup> Induction to *Bartholomew Fair*; inductions to *The New Inn* and to *Cynthia's Revels*.

since the first erection of our ancient Roman amphitheatres, with suitable properties more accurately furnished," etc. Although this non-committal term "property" can not be held to indicate scenery as we understand it to-day, it at least refutes the notion of anything like a bare stage, and may connote much stage decoration. Moreover, there were curtains, for mention is made of them all the way from the epilogue to *Tancred and Gismunda*, where they are first named, to Tat-ham's prologue (1640) upon the removing of the late Fortune Players to the Bull. In the last case, their silken glory is contrasted with the humbler woollen of earlier times. The induction to *Cynthia's Revels* also mentions silk curtains. Whether the curtains were repaired as the arras was, we are not told; but the "faces in the hangings"<sup>40</sup> were customarily renovated, for Jonson makes one of his induction speakers say, "'Slid, the boy takes me for a piece of perspective, I hold my life, or some silk curtain, come to hang the stage here! Sir crack, I am none of your fresh pictures, that use to beautify the decayed dead arras in a public theatre.'" Here it is evident that the "piece of perspective" means something in the nature of scenery in the modern sense. In one of Heywood's prologues<sup>41</sup> it is said that "Cupid descended in a cloud" upon the stage. Probably it may be concluded that the Elizabethan stage-furnishing was proportionally as far behind the modern stage-furnishing as that of the Elizabethan house was behind that of the modern house. Since the difference here is in degree, not in kind, it would probably be unwise to contend for a denuded stage.

Respecting the merits of the various stages in the various playhouses, the comments in extraneities are few and not always clear, since the construction of the stage is not yet fully determined. For instance, in the prologue to *A Warning for Fair Women*, the theatre is called a round and fair circuit; in choruses of *Henry the Fifth* it is condemned as inadequate, and

<sup>40</sup> Cf. dedication to *The New Inn* and induction to *Cynthia's Revels*.

<sup>41</sup> The 1633 prologue to *Love's Mistress*. Perhaps this scenic effect is due to the masque-like character of this play.

described as "this wooden O." Again the theatre is termed "vast"<sup>42</sup> by a prologue speaker. Presumably the larger house was a public theatre and the smaller one a private stage.<sup>43</sup> where plays were usually presented by candle-light.<sup>44</sup> Hence the tiremen coming in to trim the lights would indicate one of the private houses. These were Blackfriars, Cockpit, Whitefriars, Salisbury Court.<sup>45</sup> From a comparison of the inductions of Marston, Jonson, and other dramatists, with title pages announcing places of representation, it is easy to infer that the boys' companies occupied these private houses. In many inductions the personages are "children," and act and speak as such, so that the fact is doubly evident. Not until after 1616 did men's companies have private theatres.<sup>46</sup> The presentation of plays by boys' companies long antedated the acting of them in private theatres. *The Play of the Old Testament*, we are told,<sup>47</sup> was presented by choristers of St. Paul's on Christmas eve, 1378, almost two hundred years before we hear of Paul's Boys having their own playhouse. At the beginning of the reign of Mary Tudor, the Roman Catholic drama *Respublica* was presented by one of the boys' companies, for the prologue contains the words: "We children to you old folk may join together to thank God," etc. These boys are not mentioned in all the prologues that they spoke, but are sufficiently kept in view from Mary's accession until perhaps the middle of the reign of James.<sup>48</sup> Juvenile professional actors not only held the stage, but were serious rivals of the adult companies. It will be recalled that Hamlet's players complained of the little "eyases" of an earlier decade. In the third intermean of Jonson's *Staple of News* another conspicuous objection may be found. Lesser notes occur here and there. In 1613, a company of London prentices acted without permission a satirical play<sup>49</sup>

<sup>42</sup> Prologue to *The Roaring Girl*.

<sup>43</sup> Malone's *Prolegomena*, III, 61.

<sup>44</sup> Fleay, *English Stage*, 226.

<sup>45</sup> From Malone and Fleay.

<sup>46</sup> Fleay, *English Stage*, 253.

<sup>47</sup> Creizenach, I, 161.

<sup>48</sup> Note to the epilogue of Marston's *Sophonisba*.

<sup>49</sup> *The Hog Hath Lost His Pearl*.

ridiculing the Lord Mayor and were imprisoned for it. Other non-professional companies acted, in 1613, *The Hector of Germany* and, as we see from an epilogue of 1640, *The Queen of Arragon*. Although these two companies may not have been boys, the prentices of 1613 presumably had the boys' companies as their example. Fleay gives ground for this inference in his statement that the trouble over *The Hog Hath Lost His Pearl* "may have been the immediate cause of the dissolution of the Queen's Revels Children," whom we do not hear of after 1615, and who in that year appear to be the last boys' company in existence.<sup>50</sup>

Acting companies were much smaller before 1642 than later.<sup>51</sup> Thomas Heywood tells the reader<sup>52</sup> that some of his plays required two companies to act them. As it has been estimated<sup>53</sup> that in these instances about thirty persons were on the stage at once, the size of the companies is easily inferred. Marston's induction to *Antonio and Mellida* adduces the smallness of the company as the reason for an actor's having more than one part. The prologue to *Holland's Leaguer* contains, according to Fleay,<sup>54</sup> an acknowledgment of the superiority of the King's Men and Queen's Men and an implication of the inferiority of the other companies. The title-page shows that this play was presented "at the private house in Salisbury Court," and the prologue alludes to

the Muses' colony  
New planted in this soil.

The allusion to superior and inferior companies of actors, which follows, is metaphorical and vague; but it is clear that the Salisbury Court company considered itself "sib" to the best:

we partake  
The influence they boast of, which does make  
Our bayes to flourish, etc.

<sup>50</sup> Inferred as the result of a study of Fleay's data.

<sup>51</sup> Malone, III, 179, says about twenty persons in Shakespeare's time.

<sup>52</sup> *Address to the Reader in The Iron Age*, Pt. I.

<sup>53</sup> Cf. Fleay, *Biographical Chronicle*, I, 284.

<sup>54</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 66.

The non-organic elements of drama are one great source of data for the biography of the writer, for the catalogue of his works, for the list of his friends and patrons. The address to Middleton's *Roaring Girl*<sup>55</sup> is said to be our only source of knowledge of Middleton between 1608 and 1611; the significant facts of Dekker's life are confided to similar keepers.<sup>56</sup> From such appendages to drama we learn of the author's literary plans,<sup>57</sup> often of works completed wholly or in part.<sup>58</sup> We know in many cases what the dramatist considered his best play,<sup>59</sup> and what he thought of other plays<sup>60</sup> and other men.<sup>61</sup>

Of the play itself, the extraneous parts tell much that would not be elsewhere recorded: namely, the time of presentation, as in the long vacation, at Christmas,<sup>62</sup> at New Year, on Sunday; the purpose, whether for a marriage or some other important event. Prologues often contain data for determining the chronology of more than one play. Epilogues sometimes create a divergence of opinion: the same prayer for the sovereign indicates to one critic<sup>63</sup> that the printed play has been set up from the manuscript of the court performance, as "there is no adducible evidence of a play not acted at court ending with a prayer for the Queen;" to another,<sup>64</sup> that the customary prayer "in the public theatres for the King and Queen sometimes made part of the epilogue." Alteration of titles is often recorded in a prologue,<sup>65</sup> as well as other changes in the play.<sup>66</sup> Sometimes, as in the case of Shirley, who supplied each of his plays with a dedication, the presence or absence of a particular extraneity may

<sup>55</sup> *Ibid.*, II, 95.

<sup>56</sup> Cf. *Lectori*, in *Whore of Babylon*.

<sup>57</sup> Address in *Sejanus*.

<sup>58</sup> Dedication of *The Hector of Germany*.

<sup>59</sup> Dedication to Shirley's *Cardinal*.

<sup>60</sup> Among innumerable references, see *Tamburlaine*, *Hieronymo*, *Pericles*, *Ganster*, *Sejanus*, *Andronicus*, etc.

<sup>61</sup> Jonson of Shakespeare in the First Folio.

<sup>62</sup> Cf. prologue to *The Widow*.

<sup>63</sup> Fleay, *English Stage*, 57.

<sup>64</sup> Malone, *op. cit.*, p. 143.

<sup>65</sup> *The Coronation*, *Knight of the Burning Pestle*, *Dutch Courtezan*, etc.

<sup>66</sup> Induction to *Cynthia's Revels*, prologue to *Believe as You List*.

determine authorship.<sup>67</sup> In the prologue to a revival of Beaumont and Fletcher's *Coxcomb* we are informed that it was condemned for its length, "but that fault's reformed." Much other detailed play-history is similarly recorded in other prologues.<sup>68</sup> In the prologue to *The False One* the authors justify<sup>69</sup> themselves for attempting a subject handled by Shakespeare on the ground that

Fresh and neat matter may with ease be framed  
Out of their Stories that have oft been nam'd.

Stage quarrels and the adventures of a manuscript play are recorded, with more or less allusive vagueness, in prologues and inductions.<sup>70</sup> In Jonson's account of the composition of one of his best plays,<sup>71</sup> the lines

'Tis known, five weeks fully penn'd it,  
From his own hand, without a coadjutor,  
Novice, journeyman, or Tutor,<sup>72</sup>

not only assert Jonson's ability to write his plays without assistance, but suggest the nature and method of collaboration in use at the time.

The War of the Theatres is naturally more thoroughly reflected in drama than any other one interest of the stage. As it has been discussed with critical completeness in a convenient monograph,<sup>73</sup> it is necessary to say here only that even in this matter, as in others, the extranеities are referential and casual, while the dramas themselves furnish the battle-ground proper.

<sup>67</sup> Fleay, *Biographical Chronicle*, I, 211.

<sup>68</sup> Cf. dedication of Strode's *Floating Island*; prologue to Nabbes's *Covent Garden*; induction to *Malcontent*.

<sup>69</sup> Fleay, *Biographical Chronicle*, I, 211, says that the authors "apologize for taking up the subject of Antony and Cleopatra after Shakespeare." But it is apology rather in Cardinal Newman's sense than in the usual modern sense.

<sup>70</sup> Cf. *Malcontent*, among others.

<sup>71</sup> Prologue to *Volpone*.

<sup>72</sup> Cf. also Fleay, *Biographical Chronicle*, I, 373.

<sup>73</sup> *The War of the Theatres*, by J. H. Penniman, in *Publications of the University of Pennsylvania*, 1897.

Of the fifteen extant dramas involved in this quarrel,<sup>74</sup> and abounding in allusions to it, only nine contain references in extraneous portions. The *Apologetical Dialogue* appended to the *Poetaster* contains Jonson's statement of his case against his enemies; and the induction to *Cynthia's Revels* holds these men up to ridicule under feigned names. Of the remaining instances, the attack in the prologue to *Every Man in His Humor* may be general, in accordance with frequent usage, instead of specific. Most of the other instances are in the nature of satirical rivalries, sustained by men conscious of public curiosity and interest, who admitted the profitable commercial character<sup>75</sup> of the quarrel. For instance, the epilogue to *Antonio and Mellida* and the prologue to the *Poetaster*, both "armed," and the "armed" prologue to *Troilus and Cressida* have obviously an appeal to the gallery.

Extraneous parts of drama touch so lightly on so many topics as to be hardly more than indexes to subjects discussed elsewhere. Even on questions of literary criticism, in which the originally didactic and expository character of the prologue reappears, changed in topic rather than in purpose, the contribution made by extraneities is conspicuously slight. Jonson is the great exception to such a statement. A critic by predestination and a dramatist by chronological compulsion, he naturally made his greatest innovations in the divisions of drama which could serve as critical media. In the section on the chorus, attention has been called to some of his inventions. His conscious employment of the intermean as a variant of the chorus shows his anticipation of possible later classifications. As sponsor for the epilogue, he is conspicuous in the history of drama. His work marks the culmination of the critical use of the extraneous parts of drama. The beginnings were made comparatively timorously and crudely about one hundred years before his time. In the prologue to *The Nature of the Four Elements* we find the earliest reflecton in drama of the

<sup>74</sup> *Ibid.*, 153.

<sup>75</sup> *Ibid.*, 105.

great question of Latin in comparison with English as a medium for the transmission of ideas of the first importance. The real reason advanced for the advocacy of the vernacular is that not only noble men, but also men of mean estate, may be enabled to study science and philosophy, the works of God, and may learn to know Him through knowing His "creatures that be." The plea is thus seen to apply to morals and not to criticism; yet the insistence upon the sufficiency of English "to expound any hard sentence evident," may be emphasized here as a real, though secondary and perhaps unconscious, contribution to an important discussion. The same kind of plea is made in the prologue to *Terens in English* (1530), where English is declared entitled to recognition as well as "the greke tong and laten."<sup>76</sup>

The question of classical metres in English, a burning question with some of the university men, does not find mention in the extraneties of extant drama. In 1578, Whetstone dedicated *Promos and Cassandra* to his kinsman, William Fleetwood, in a letter full of critical matter, summarizing the ideas of literary criticism as discussed by Englishmen at this time. Whetstone compared the attitude of ancients and moderns toward actors and the stage, to the great discredit of the moderns, and then passed to a consideration of contemporary comedy among Italians, French, Spanish, Germans, and English.<sup>77</sup> English comedy, he tells us, violates the unities. This is the first evidence we have from the drama of a question that was to be largely discussed for a long time to come. These earlier utterances were doubtless stimulated by French example reinforced by reference to the classics. English drama contains a number of allusions to the culpability of English dramatists in the matter of the unities, Jonson's comments being the most intelligent as well as the least extreme. Whetstone, in his preface, implied a realization of the necessity of giving the

<sup>76</sup> Cf. Schelling, *Elizabethan Drama*, I, 82, note 5; Hazlitt, *Handbook*, 605; Warton, *History of English Poetry*, IV, 323.

<sup>77</sup> Cf. T. Heywood's *A Challenge for Beauty*.

drama a popular appeal; but it may be questioned whether he knew how far-reaching such a theory was. Earlier men had failed to see that only on such lines was English drama likely to move forward. Lewis Wager had insisted upon the didactic value of interludes;<sup>78</sup> and Gascoigne had practically reiterated the same views. Richard Edwards had followed Horace in his conception of method in dramatic technique,<sup>79</sup> and again, Gascoigne, in the prologue to *The Glass of Government* had defended English plays against Puritan charges. His play is no "enterlude," no base "Italian Toye" embellished with "Terence phrase" or marked by any "Romaine rash intent," whose purpose is merely to "make you laugh your fill;" but a "true discourse" showing

how high the virtuous clyme,  
How low they fall which lyve withouten feare  
Of God or man, and much mispende theyr tyme.

Although this prologue in defense of plays "left its trace across all the criticism of the period,"<sup>80</sup> the prologues which are not critical, in which mirth alone is recognized as the end of the play,<sup>81</sup> show that the unconscious tendency of drama was toward the goal of art, not of didacticism. The prologue to *Ralph Roister Doister* insists that mirth is a necessity of every healthy creature, expounds various functions of mirth, and commends Plautus and Terence for many "merry Comedies, containing much virtuous lore and mysteries and forewarnings very rare." The Puritans fought constantly and in time conquered the playhouse, but not precisely on the merits of their own side. The prologue to *Roister Doister* marks one of the stages in the normal development of drama; the prologues that declare the moral value of the ensuing play must be regarded after this time as at least sophisticated and as prompted by a realization of the need of defence.

<sup>78</sup> Prologue to *Mary Magdalen*.

<sup>79</sup> Symmes, *op. cit.*, 48.

<sup>80</sup> Symmes, *op. cit.*, 66.

<sup>81</sup> *Jack Juggler*, *Tom Tyler*, *Misogonus*, etc.

Nathaniel Woodes's *Conflict of Conscience* anticipates some of Jonson's criticism. Woodes's conception of comedy "will hardly him permit" to touch the "vices of one private man." This is, of course, the classical idea of comedy. Woodes therefore gives his hero an abstract name. It will stir people more, he asserts, to be thus led to think that the hero's case may be theirs. It would never occur to them to make this application if the hero had a real name. This desire to bring the matter home to each man's business and bosom is not expressed so directly in the increasingly varied later popular drama, as it was in the earlier and more monotonous moralities. A large number of prologues<sup>82</sup> insist that no spectator shall imagine he sees himself and his faults portrayed in comedy—the picture is only "general." On the other hand, Jonson, in the person of Asper, says,

If any here chance to behold himself,  
Let him not dare to challenge me of wrong;  
For, if he shame to have his follies known,  
First he should shame to act 'em: my strict hand  
Was made to seize on vice, and with a gripe  
Squeeze out the humor of such spongy souls  
As lick up every idle vanity.

Comparison of this passage of aggressive comment with Woodes's impersonal statement of the same idea will show partly the method of Jonson. It consisted, to a certain extent, in reducing all problems to the form of a personal equation and in thinking them solved when he had reached the answer that suited him. Here, as elsewhere, Jonson's function, as it is perhaps the function of all very great minds, was not so much to add new material as to re-point the old.

In addition to the topics already noted, this old material consisted of a *réchauffé* of classical ideas, in many cases reaching English through Italian, though in Jonson's case no doubt directly obtained from the classics. On the theme of the poet and

<sup>82</sup> Among the number, *Damon and Pithias*, *Three Estates*, *The Fawn*, *Knight of the Burning Pestle*, *The Ordinary*, *The Bride*, etc.

his function, Jonson discourses in his dedication to *Volpone*. His method is to anathematize contemporary poets and complete their discomfiture by comparing them with the poet of theory and tradition. He takes care to insist that not all the poets of his time "are embarked in this bold adventure for hell," yet he is equally positive that the name of poet, "so full of authority, antiquity, and all great mark, is through their insolence, become the lowest scorn of the age." The dedication is really his own defence, with allusions to the hypothetical poet thrown in to strengthen the justification. A good poet must be a good man. Jonson insists that the spiritual function of the poet is inseparable from his work. Contemporary so-called poets are all apostate. Even the comic poet shares the dignity of the *genus poeta*. His office is to "imitate justice, and instruct to life, as well as purity of language," and to "stir up gentle affections." Yet of all these functions of office, the most important, "the principal end of poesie," is "the doctrine," which informs men in "the best reason for living." Jonson had a strong contempt for all those forms of human weakness and vice with which his own temperament had no patience. And by an irony frequent in life, he chiefly reviled stage plays, being himself chiefly engaged in producing stage plays. Yet in his contempt for plays, he is not for a moment to be confounded with those other revilers of plays, the Puritans. Their hostility was largely uncritical, against plays as plays. Jonson's hostility was always dependent upon his estimate of plays according to their intellectual and dramatic merit. He wore his puritanic scorn with a difference, dispensing his condemnation according to a critical standard essentially sound, however intense and individual is its tone.

His theory of tragedy is expressed in the epistle *To the Reader*, prefixed to *Sejanus*: "In the meantime, if in truth of argument, dignity of persons, gravity and height of elocution, fulness and frequency of sentence, I have discharged the other offices of a tragic writer, let not the absence of these forms<sup>83</sup>

<sup>83</sup> *I.e.*, the chorus and the unity of time.

be imputed to me, wherein I shall give you occasion hereafter, and without my boast, to think I could better prescribe, than omit the one use for want of a convenient knowledge." *Sejanus*, Jonson admits, does not observe the strict unity of time, and wants "a proper chorus; whose habits and moods are such and so difficult, as not any, whom I have seen, since the ancients, no, not they who have most presently affected laws, have yet come in the way of." Yet these failures strictly to follow ancient example are justifiable, since both "these our times" and the average audience render it neither needful nor indeed wholly possible so to follow, if one is to secure "preservation of any popular delight." This passage seems important as indicating not only Jonson's classic tendency, but also his good sense in recognizing the need to meet existing conditions in England and above all to keep the audience in mind. Whetstone had taken much the same position. Jonson had previously expressed this idea in *Every Man Out of His Humor*, where, in discussing the Old Comedy, he had declared many of its laws "too nice," and not inevitable. To prove the truth of his contention, he appealed to the history of the development of the technique of comedy, and showed that "every man in the dignity of his spirit supplied something." Furthermore he continued, "I see not, then, but we should enjoy the same license, or free power to illustrate and heighten our invention, as they did; and not be tied to those strict and regular forms which the niceness of a few, who are nothing but form, would thrust upon us."

Chapman's dedication to *The Revenge of Bussy D'Ambois* contains the statement of his theory of tragedy, wherein he shows that he held much the same views as Jonson. The subject of a poem is not truth, he declares, but things like truth. They are poor envious souls "that cavil at truth's want in these natural fictions." Then he declares that "material instruction, elegant and sententious excitation to virtue and defection from her contrary," are the "soul, limbs, and limits of an authentical tragedy." This is practically what Jonson meant by his word

“doctrine.” Chapman said so little that he has left us too much margin for interpreting his word “truth.” It may be assumed that he was reproducing Aristotle, and could not give the certainty where he did not find it. But in the main, he stressed the moral aim of poetry, just as Jonson did. He might have been less independent of the classics than was Jonson, had he elaborated his theory.

The nature and function of the poet was a topic as old as the first philosophers. In the Renaissance, it was revived by Italian scholars, taken up by the *Pléiade* and other French writers, and transmitted through both mediums to English writings. The hint given by Jonson that a good poet must be a good man, was the adumbration of the earlier conception. By Shirley’s time, the notion had still further faded. The poet was no longer the necessary embodiment of blended moral and artistic excellence, much less the earthly representative of the gods, but one to

lead on your thought  
Through subtle paths and workings of a plot.<sup>84</sup>

Yet Shirley, in recalling the glories of Beaumont and Fletcher, takes a higher view. In the address to the reader of the first folio, he requires in the poet “a soule miraculously knowing and conversing with all mankind.” As he develops his idea, however, he advocates much more worldliness and expediency in the poet than do the earlier dramatists. The poet must be familiar with the “atmosphere of courts;” his learning must be more than a library contains. The point of view is literary rather than intuitive or imaginative. John Day, in 1608, spoke of the “Mechanicke gods” on the “hil of Pernassus,” though from the context it is not certain that he meant the poet; he may have had the powerful reader in mind. “We have a strange secte of upstart Phisiognomers growne up amongst us of late, that will assume, out of the depth of their knowings to calculate a man’s intent by the colour of his complexion; nay—which is miraculous—by the character of his reporte.”

<sup>84</sup> Prologue to *The Cardinal*.

From critical estimates in general to particular concrete censure was but a step. It was taken by Jonson when he condemned contemporary drama as departing too far from the standard. The prologues and dedications of the Stuart period abound in continuations of such censure, which vary from an almost impersonal statement of facts to the most violent anathema. In 1638, a printer, reviving a play<sup>85</sup> after an interval of twenty-eight years, noted that "we have better for Language in these our exquisite and refined Times, yet for the matter and Subject, none of a more delightful and pleasant Style." This appreciation may have been but a means to sell the book. The point of view must never be ignored. Dramatists, advertising their own wares, were prone to belittle those of their contemporaries; and thus a large number of prejudiced censures of poets and poetry may be accounted for. Such a phrase as

the rude,  
Guiddy, and Brain sick Times vicissitude,<sup>86</sup>

is representative of much of the comment offered, though no common objector could compete with the arch-censor, Jonson. Lesser complaints are abundant, however. The prologue to *A Fine Companion* is in the form of a dialogue between a critic and the author. The critic, constitutionally opposed to the drama of the period, insists that

not every one that writes a verse  
Has washed his mouth in Helicon or slept  
On the two-topt Parnassus,

an objection that Jonson had already answered<sup>87</sup> by declaring that necessity is sometimes as good a poet-maker as art or nature. The poet in Marmion's play, unable for a long while

<sup>85</sup> Rowley's *A Shoemaker a Gentleman*.

<sup>86</sup> Prologue to *The Swizer*. Cf. also the dedication (of 1591) of *Tancred and Gismunda* to the Inns of Court.

<sup>87</sup> Prologue to *Every Man in His Humor*.

to silence his objector, finally comes off victorious by insisting that

no impure language . . . . .  
. . . . . shall ever mix  
With our ingenious mirth, etc.

Ford's prologue to *Perkin Warbeck* (1634) complains of the recent unpopularity of historical drama and the present vogue of "antic follies." Richards, in the prologue to *Messalina*, notes that comedy has been the more popular form of drama, but that "now," 1637 or 1640, "all our cost and care" is to give tragedy.

The importance of realistic effects in character presentation is noted in the extraneities of drama as early as the prologue to Wager's *Mary Magdalen*,<sup>88</sup> which begs the audience not to be offended at the introduction of vices with virtues, "For in men and women they have depended." In the dedication to *Promos and Cassandra* this idea finds a second utterance. There the author declares that "To work a comedy kindly," that is, according to its nature, bad and good should be shown together. Whetstone adds to this requirement a psychological reason for this "entermingling:" "for without this chaunge, the attention would be small: and the likinge, lesse." References to theories of style are rare in extraneous parts of drama, though the first mention of such a topic occurs very early. In the prologue to *The Nature of the Four Elements* the writer boasts of the lack of rhetorical adornment, explaining that much eloquence might make the matter tedious "or hurt the sentence." These Horatian echoes die away later, many writers recognizing that "filèd points" "foisted in" to a story do not "make it gracious to the ear or eye."<sup>89</sup>

There is more or less reference, in prologues and epilogues, to the nature and function of comedy and tragedy,<sup>90</sup> and to the function, also, of prologue, epilogue, and dedication.<sup>91</sup> Ed-

<sup>88</sup> Also in *Damon and Pithias*.

<sup>89</sup> Informal epilogue to *Arden of Feversham*.

<sup>90</sup> Induction to *A Warning for Fair Women*.

<sup>91</sup> Prologue to *The Goblins*, etc.

wards introduced the word tragicomedy into English in 1564, and other dramatists occasionally referred to the kind of drama that Edwards had named:

matter mix'd with mirth and care, a just name to apply,  
As seems most fit, we have it termed a tragical-comedy.<sup>92</sup>

But there is as much difference between this early tragical comedy and the tragicomedy of Beaumont and Fletcher as between a short story and that recent form of it that has been called "the hyphenated Short-story:" a difference in method, not in material. The characteristic English combination of comic and tragic was, in all likelihood, a development of the classical idea of the combination of pleasure with profit. In Edwards's work, a tragical comedy was a story dealing so little in character study that the sudden turn of fate in the victim's favor made but slight difference in the reader's interest. With Fletcher, on the contrary, the first part of the action rises tragically by reason of the natures causing it, so that too often the fortunate ending is a theatrical *tour de force* which destroys all faith in the sincerity and reality of the character study. Nothing of this difference, however, appears from the use of the word and from the references to the species in the extraneous parts of drama. Although the tragicomedy of the Stuart stage was a legitimate development from the tragical comedy of the early days of Elizabeth, a comparison of earliest and latest examples of the species reveals extreme differences. The later kind is heroic in conception as well as in treatment; the earlier is so only in nomenclature.

Closely akin to the shifting meaning of a term is the uncertain use of a term. In the early years of drama the word "comedy" was subjected to a varied application. That Bale was confused in his use of it is clear from his notes and title-pages. In *Cambises* the confusion is revealed in the same way. In Lupton's *All for Money* the title-page has the words "pitiful comedy," the prologue, "pleasant tragedy." Collier says<sup>93</sup> it is

<sup>92</sup> Prologue to *Damon and Pithias*.

<sup>93</sup> Collier, *Annals*, II, 348.

neither the one nor the other; and most readers will agree with him. The conception of comedy or tragedy is oftener implied than expounded, and sometimes is merely referred to, on the evident assumption that the audience holds the idea clearly in mind. For example, the epilogue to *Club Law* suggests that the audience can not suppose that "in such a subject we can observe Commike rules."

This uncertainty regarding literary ideas has its counterpart in the uncertainty which existed regarding the question of literary patronage. It has been shown in an admirable study of the literary profession in the Elizabethan age<sup>94</sup> that patrons at that time were many, as compared with their numbers in earlier periods; that they were inadequate to the demand, however, both because men who wrote for a living had greatly increased, and because economic conditions prevented the relation of patron and poet from being close and constant as it had been in, say, Chaucer's day. Patronage under Elizabeth was casual, not obligatory, and neither stable nor constant. The poets failed to analyze conditions and to see why they were so unlike those under Maecenas and later patrons. Shirley, in his dedication to *The Sisters*, says, "In this age, when the scene of dramatic poetry is changed into a wilderness, it is hard to find a patron to a legitimate muse." He comes nearer understanding the reason than many another, for he continues: "Many that were wont to encourage poems, are fallen beneath the proverbial want of the composers." Jonson<sup>95</sup> and Daniel,<sup>96</sup> on the other hand, bemoaned the failure of contemporary great men to continue old and magnificent traditions of patronage. Jonson laid the blame on bad poets, through whose "insolence" the name of poet "has become the lowest scorn of the age; and those men subject to the petulancy of every vernacular orator, that were wont to be the care of kings and happiest monarchs." Daniel tries to show Prince Henry what advantage a

<sup>94</sup> By Miss Phoebe Sheavyn, Manchester, 1909.

<sup>95</sup> Cf. dedication to *Volpone*.

<sup>96</sup> Cf. dedication to *Philotas*.

sovereign reaps who patronizes poets, and cleverly illustrates his point by alluding to the royal subsidizing of dramatic companies:

And is no lesser honor to a Crowne  
T'have Writers than have Actors of renowne.

He hopes that the young prince

one day  
May grace this now neglected Harmonie.

When we are told that Jonson's list of noble patrons numbered nearly four score,<sup>97</sup> and when we collect the names of dedicatees of Tudor and Stuart drama; moreover, when we read in innumerable dedications that the poet is unacquainted with his patron, or that he is hoping almost against hope that his poem may be accepted;<sup>98</sup> we have a vivid realization of the instability of patronage and of the uncertainty of writing as a bread-winning occupation. Both Jonson and Daniel have sketched their ideal of a state of literary patronage which the most superficial student of history recognizes as having its prototype under the Roman empire and in the Middle Ages, in the latter period notably among the Provençal princes. Slighter evidences of a general misunderstanding are abundant in dedications during the whole period from 1558 to 1642. The favor anciently extended to poets by princes is a trite idea in English dedications. It not infrequently finds expression in combination with some admission of a less happy state of affairs in England and a wish to return to the Golden Age. Yet reasons for this difference between England and the Golden Age are not sought by the poets; the attitude of the writers is for the most part childish and unreflective. The playwright's situation is best realized, perhaps, from Massinger's dedications. The actual need for mere subsistence in a society where literary demand and supply were financed by the publisher and where

<sup>97</sup> Fleay, *Biographical Chronicle*, I, 337-340.

<sup>98</sup> Cf. Nabbes: Dedication to *Tottenham Court*, for one among many instances.

the author had no share in a successful work, explains the frequency of dedications in the Stuart period and the audacity of poets in presenting their works to men and women to whom they themselves were unknown. The general sycophancy and hypocrisy of these dedications, so disagreeable in itself, seems more than pathetic when the conditions underlying it are understood.

Actors, too, struggled rather desperately for subsistence. That phase of their activity, however, is not reflected in the non-organic elements of drama. Their professional excellence and their popularity receive occasional comment. They themselves also appear as writers of prologues, epilogues, and dedications. The information furnished about actors appears in several forms: contributions by the actors themselves in dedications; data furnished by other men who wrote of actors in dedications; editorial information to the effect that particular extraneous parts were spoken by particular actors; biographical details furnished by the writers of "separate" prologues and epilogues. For example, *King John and Matilda* has a dedication signed Pennycuicke,<sup>99</sup> in which the writer says he was "the last that acted Matilda in it." The preface to *Summer's Last Will and Testament* names Dick Huntley, without specifying his *rôle*, and Harry Baker, as the impersonator of Vertumnus. In view of the prominence given in the text proper of many dramas to famous actors of one or another period, the knowledge of them to be gleaned from extraneous parts is comparatively scanty. But it is consistent with what may seem almost the rule in this discussion, namely, that the extraneous parts of drama merely afford hints of an abundance which, if it is to be found, must be looked for elsewhere. Thomas Pollard is an example in point. He was a famous actor in Charles's reign. A stage direction at the end of Shirley's *Cardinal* reads: "Calls

<sup>99</sup> Cf., also written by Pennycuicke, the dedication of Massinger's *City Madam*; also those in Ford and Dekker's *Sun's Darling*—the dedication addressed to the Lady Newton; the dedication to Southampton, signed by both Pennycuicke and Bird. For the latter two dedications, see Dyce's comment.

within for Master Pollard for the epilogue." But there is no mention of him in any extraneity, although contemporary tracts, lists of *dramatis personae* and of actors, not to mention Sir Henry Herbert's office books, show that he was a prominent actor under the first Stuart kings. At the end of the *Duchess of Malfi*, "instead of an epilogue," Webster writes a prose commendation of the actors in general, especially praising Richard Perkins: ". . . . I must remember the well-approved industry of my friend Master Perkins, and confess the worth of his action did crown both the beginning and end." The prologue and the epilogue to *The Witch of Edmonton* are signed respectively "Master Bird" and "Phen." Fleay says<sup>100</sup> that Phen spoke the epilogue. One may then infer that Bird spoke the prologue. These men were prominent actors at the Cockpit when the Lady Elizabeth's Men played there. Bird, as we have seen, had an interest in drama other than purely histrionic.<sup>101</sup> Glapthorne has a separate prologue entitled "For Ezekiel Fen at his first Acting a Man's Part," and worked out under an elaborate figure: Fen as the ship, the audience as the elements, the ship owners as the company employing him. The famous Burbage and Kemp appear in the induction to *The Malcontent*,<sup>102</sup> along with Condell and Lowin *in propria persona*. Sly and Sinklow are not thus represented. Heywood tells us, in the prologue and epilogue furnished by him for the revival of *The Jew of Malta* in 1633, of the earlier and the later actor of the part. Although he names neither one, Edward Alleyn is known to have been the first and Richard Perkins the second. Heywood praises Alleyn without stint, calling him "Proteus for shapes, and Roscius for a tongue," and merely declaring of Perkins that it is not

his ambition  
To exceed or equall, being of condition  
More modest.

<sup>100</sup> *Biographical Chronicle*, I, 231.

<sup>101</sup> He was one of the actors who brought out the Beaumont and Fletcher folio of 1647.

<sup>102</sup> Also among the *Dramatis personae* of *The Return from Parnassus*.

In the epilogue Perkins's modesty is again mentioned:

All the ambition that his mind doth swell,  
Is but to hear from you, (by me), 'twas well.

The biography of actors is, as we have seen, but scantily presented in the extraneities of drama. In the nature of the case, a similar statement must be made for the playwrights. The dramatist contributes some autobiography; his publisher or printer often supplements such data. Whatever items come to the biographer from such sources come with a literary rather than an historical value, for they come colored and moulded by a feeling of one sort or another and are invariably presented as seen from one or another personal angle. Thus he were rash who should try to reconstruct a poet from the scattered bones in dedications and prologues. Autobiographical material is largely allusive, and as unintelligible to the twentieth century reader as are many of the hits in the plays. We know from Massinger's dedications that he was continually "hard up,"<sup>103</sup> and also that his gratitude for assistance was sharpened and increased by his need. He declares more than once<sup>104</sup> that he actually owes his life to the timely aid of patrons. The extremity of the statement, even allowing for exaggerated phrasing, must be held to indicate his real necessity. In the dedication of his *Duke of Milan* to Lady Katharine Stanhope, he says with persuasive frankness, "Let the example of others . . . plead my pardon, and the rather, since there is no other means left me (my misfortunes having cast me on this course) to publish to the world . . . that I am ever your ladyship's creature." The most extensive autobiography served up in a dedication is probably that in Daniel's verse dedication of *Philotas* to Prince Henry. The poet speaks as an old man to a young boy, and makes a bid for sympathy in calling himself "the remnant of another time;" one who has

<sup>103</sup> Dedication to *The Great Duke of Florence*, to *The Maid of Honor*, to *The Duke of Milan*.

<sup>104</sup> Dedication to *The Unnatural Combat*, to *The Roman Actor*.

outlived the date  
Of former grace, acceptance, and delight,

and who has been misunderstood by the new age;

but yeeres hath done this wrong,  
To make me write too much and live too long.

Not all autobiography is of this sort, however. Occasionally in a prologue a dramatist will make fun of himself, and in so doing pass incidental criticism upon the form of drama his prologue serves to introduce. Of course, this is merely the *form* of autobiography assumed for the purpose of lessening the sting of anticipated criticism.

The biography of patrons would be very scanty if it were dependent upon the data in dedications. Nor does even the list of their names give the complete tale of their number. Certain names recur, whence it is to be inferred that such men tried to fulfil the requirements of patronage.<sup>105</sup> Other names appear in such connection that it is certain their owners did not welcome dedications. The dedication of Massinger's *Bondman* seems to address a man unwilling to receive the dedication. At other times, the writer alludes to the fact that some men will not accept these empty honors, but that the present patron has a finer grace. The fact that almost no name appears twice in dedications of drama, taken in connection with what is known of the need of playwrights, is strong proof of a general unwillingness of men of prominence to patronize dramatists. Whether the reasons for such unwillingness lay entirely in the pockets of these gentlemen, or somewhat also in possible disadvantages, official and social, accruing to them should they seem openly and steadily interested in plays, is a question that these extranieties suggest but do not answer.

<sup>105</sup> E.g., Sir Thomas Walsingham, Thomas Hammon, Montgomery and Southampton, Kenelm Digby, George Lord Berkeley, Endimion Porter, the Earl of Newcastle.

## VI. GENERAL CONCLUSION AND SUMMARY

In the attempt to summarize the results of this investigation into the function of these non-organic or extraneous parts of English drama before 1642, conclusions may be facilitated and made more intelligible if it is borne in mind that the extraneities considered show a broad cleavage between the chorus and the other forms, and that the reasons which have been given for this difference largely explain the facts in the history of the forms. The problem which this early drama was solving, both consciously and unconsciously, was a problem from which traditional and literary elements were noticeably absent, but in which unusual popular elements were abundant. The playgoers wanted both realism and romance, both poetry and action; they cared not a whit for classical example. From this standpoint, it is clear that the extraneities which did not depend upon this problem, which did not handicap drama in its march to the popular goal, but which in any way contributed to facilitate that progress, through exposition of dramatic questions, through persuasion, through the immediate relation of public and playwright,—that such extraneous parts would depend upon external circumstances and would increase or wane in popularity and importance in direct proportion to utility and fashion.

These theoretical considerations are supported by the facts. The prologue, the most useful form for the ends of exposition and persuasion, has the longest and fullest history. It contributes much the largest part of the information furnished by the extraneous parts of drama. Its form and function change little from times long anterior to the classical Renaissance up to the closing of the theatres in 1642. Its content varies to suit the writer and the occasion. It would not be easy to mark periods of ebb, for its use is fairly constant. Although the dramatists themselves are from time to time contemptuous of its value, they retain its use. The epilogue as a determined form is later to appear, and, as has been shown, is less service-

able. It is more truly a dramatic convention than the prologue is, and hence is more often merely clever. Its primary function of apology is never wholly outgrown, but ultimately subordinated, in appearance at least, to subtleties and felicities of expression, to sallies of wit, to artificialities of many sorts. Letters furnished with printed plays became more frequent and more calculating as economic changes intensified trade competition among publishers and printers, and lessened the playwright's chances to make ends meet. Their ultimate function was to beg, whatever their immediate aim. Printers advertised plays, and poets dedicated them, with the same end in view. The frequency of such documents increased steadily and, as the closing of the theatres did not mean that printed plays were prevented, the writing of new dedications for old plays went on into a later period.

Numerous as are the scraps of information furnished in the extraneous parts of drama, they are habitually casual, and hence generally in need of supplement or interpretation or both. Yet they make, none the less, a not unworthy contribution to a knowledge of the literary life of the period. They bear upon drama and stage, rather than upon other forms of activity, in a period when English literary life was characteristically dramatic.

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In addition to the above mentioned works the principal authorities cited in the study are: Alberto de la Barrera's *Catálogo bibliográfico y biográfico del teatro antiguo Español* (1860); Campbell's *Lives of the Lord Chancellors of England* (1845-1856); D. F. Canfield's *Corneille and Racine in England* (1904); *Catalogue of the British Museum* (1881-1900); L. N. Chase's *The English Heroic Play* (1903); W. J. Courthope's *History of English Poetry* (1895-1910); *The Furnivall English Miscellany* (1901); Edmund Gosse's *Eighteenth Century Literature* (1901); Edmund Gosse's *Sir George Etherege*, in *The Cornhill Magazine*, XLIII (1881), 286 *ff.* (republished in his *Seventeenth Century Studies* (1883), 259-98); C. H. Gray's *Lodowick Carliell* (1905); P. Holzhausen's *Drydens heroisches Drama*, in *Englische Studien*, XIII (1889), 414-445; J. Fitzmaurice-Kelly's *Littérature Espagnole* (translation of Davray, 1904); T. R. Lounsbury's *Shakespeare as a Dramatic Artist* (1901); Edmond Malone's edition of *The Critical and Miscellaneous Prose Works of Dryden* (1800); W. H. Prescott's *History of the Reign of Philip II* (ed. 1858); George Saints-

bury's *John Dryden* (1881); Adolf Schäffer's *Geschichte des spanischen Nationaldramas* (1890); F. E. Schelling's *Ben Jonson and the Classical School*, in *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, XIII, (1898), 235-245; F. E. Schelling's *Elizabethan Drama, 1558-1642*, (1908); P. Siegel's *Aphra Behns Gedichte und Prosawerke*, in *Anglia*, XXV, 86-128; J. E. Spingarn's *Literary Criticism of the Renaissance* (1899); various articles in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, edited by Leslie Stephen and Sidney Lee (1885-1912); George Ticknor's *History of Spanish Literature* (ed. 1864); and J. W. Tupper's *The Relation of the Heroic Play to the Romances of Beaumont and Fletcher*, in the *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, XX (1905), 584-621. A few references of minor importance, cited with sufficient fullness in connection with the passages to which they are attached, may be here omitted.

[The following important works dealing in whole or in part with the drama of the Restoration period have made their appearance since the date (1907) of the foregoing investigation: *The Cambridge History of English Literature*, vol. VIII (1912), caps. 1, 5, 6, 7; John Palmer's *The Comedy of Manners* (1913); and G. H. Nettleton's *English Drama of the Restoration and Eighteenth Century* (1914). In *The Cambridge History*, VIII, 18, 147, 148, 149, have been incorporated, with acknowledgment, several facts concerning Dryden and Tuke derived from this thesis while it was yet in manuscript form.]

### HEYWOOD'S THE FAIR MAID OF THE WEST

For an account of the various editions of the play see pages 62-64. Other primary sources are the Greenstreet papers as reprinted in the *Transactions of the Shakespeare Society* for 1885, and Arber's *Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London: 1554-1640* (5 volumes; 1875-1894); *The Yale Daily News*, c. April 24, 1901.

The various secondary sources referred to in the text include: Winstanley, *Lives of the Most Famous English Poets* (1687); Langbaine, *An Account of the English Dramatick Poets* (1691); Baker and Reed, *Biographia Dramatica* (ed. 1812); Collier, *A History of English Dramatic Poetry to the Death of Shakespeare: and Annals of the Stage to the Restoration* (1831); Genest, *Some Account of the English Stage from the Restoration in 1660 to 1830* (1832); Collier's introduction to his edition of *The Fair Maid of the West* (1850); Fleay, *A Biographical Chronicle of the English Drama, 1559-1642* (1891); Hazlitt, *Manual of Old English Plays* (1892); Hazlitt, *Bibliographical Collections and Notes 1474-1700. Third and Final Series. Second Supplement* (1892); Jusserand, *Histoire Littéraire du Peuple Anglais*

(1896-1904); Courthope, *A History of English Poetry* (1895-1910); Ward, *A History of English Dramatic Literature to the Death of Queen Anne* (1875; 1899); Schelling, *The English Chronicle Play* (1902); Schelling, *Elizabethan Drama, 1558-1642* (1908).

### THE VALIANT SCOT, "BY J. W."

*The Valiant Scot* appears in a single edition published by John Harper for Thomas Waterson, London, 1637.

The *Wallace* of Blind Harry the Minstrel, written c. 1460, and of which editions appeared in 1570, 1594, 1601, 1611, 1620, and 1630, was re-edited from the unique manuscript in possession of the Advocates' Library in Edinburgh, by Dr. John Jamieson, Edinburgh, 1820. Quotations in the text are from the reprint of 1869 (Glasgow). A later edition of the poem appears in the *Publications of the Scottish Text Society*, 1889. For other references see Körting's *Grundriss*, §166. [See also Dr. George Neilson's article *On Blind Harry's Wallace* in *Essays and Studies* by members of the English Association, Oxford, 1910.]

The facts and traditions concerning Wallace and Bruce are well summarized by Dr. Æneas Mackay in the *Dictionary of National Biography*.

For John Waterson and Thomas Harper see entries in *A Transcript of the Register of the Company of Stationers of London, 1554-1640*, as reprinted by E. Arber, 5 vols., London, 1875-1894.

The incidental references to Anthony à Wood, Fleay, Ward, *et al.*, are indicated with sufficient clearness in the text, *passim*.

### SIR RALPH FREEMAN'S IMPERIALE

Three editions of *Imperiale* are recorded, the quarto of 1639, the duodecimo of 1640, and the quarto of 1655. The quarto of 1639 was entered in the *Stationers' Register* March 1, 1639 (ed. Arber, IV; 431). This edition is recorded by Hazlitt (*Bibliographical Collections and Notes, Second and Third Series; Handbook*), by Fleay (*Life and Works of Shakespeare*, 347), by Greg (*List of English Plays*), and by the *Dictionary of National Biography* (s.v. Sir Ralph Freeman). The duodecimo of 1640 is mentioned by J. O. Halliwell (*Dictionary of Old Plays*), by Hazlitt, and by Greg; the quarto of 1655 by Langbaine (*An Account of the English Dramatick Poets*), by Baker (*Biographia Dramatica*), by Hazlitt, by Halliwell, by Greg, by Genest (*History of the Stage*, X, 129), and by the *Dictionary of National Biography*. The edition of 1655 is, so far as the writer knows, the only one extant.

in the United States. A copy of the 1639 edition can be found in the British Museum. Of the present existence of the edition of 1640 there appears no record whatever. Citations in the text are made from the edition of 1655.

The original sources for the life of Sir Ralph Freeman are the *Rolls Series*, *Domestic*, Nichols' *Progresses of James*, the record of the Committee for Compounding, and the *Diary* of John Evelyn. The other infrequent references to Freeman and *Imperiale* are indicated with sufficient fullness in the footnotes.

### THE CENCI STORY

The study is based upon a consideration of the following material:

1. d' Abrantes, D., *Beatrice Cenci*.—2. *Anglia*, II, 1, 504, "Philip Massinger."—3. *Anglia*, III, 361, "Philip Massinger."—4. *Atlantic Monthly*, XXI, 176.—5. Bencini, B., *Cenci Romana*. (Firenze, 1838).—6. Bertolotti, *Francesco Cenci e la sua Famiglia*. (1877; 2nd ed. 1879).—7. Bruzzone, P. L., *Il testamento di B. Cenci*. (*La Domenica Letteraria*. Rome, 1884).—8. Carbone, Giunio, *Beatrice Cenci, Dramma*. (Pistoia, 1853).—9. *Beatrice Cenci, Racconto Storico* (1874).—10. Coleridge, S. T., *Lectures on Shakespeare*.—11. Colet, Louise, *L'Italie des Italiens*, IV, 183. (Quotes from Italian Chronicle an account of the last hours of Beatrice).—12. Collier, J. P., *Henslowe's Diary*.—13. Collier, J. P., *History of English Dramatic Poetry*. (1831).—14. Custine, M. de, *B. Cenci, tragédie en Cinque Actes*. (Paris, 1833).—15. Dal Bono, C. T., *Storia di B. Cenci e de' Suoi Tempi con Documenti Inediti*. (Napoli, 1864).—16. Dowden, E., *Life of P. B. Shelley*. (London, 1886).—17. Dumas, A., *Crimes Célèbres*.—18. *Fortnightly Review*, XLVI (1886).—19. Gebhart, E., *La Vérité sur une Famille Tragique. Les Cenci* (*Études Méridionales*. Paris, 1877).—20. *Geschichte der Hinrichtung der B. Cenci und ihrer Familie unter Papst Clement VIII, in Rom*. (Vienne, 1789).—21. *Grand Dictionnaire Universel du XIX. Siecle*. (Paris, 1866). III.—22. *Grande Encyclopédie*. (Paris). IX, 1093—23. Geffroy, A., *La Légende de la Cenci*. (*Revue des Deux Mondes*, 1880).—24. Guerrazzi, F. D., *B. Cenci, Storia del Secolo XVI*. (Pisa, 1851; translated by Scott, C. A., London, 1858).—25. Hallam, *Literature of Europe*.—26. *Histoire Véritable de la Mort de Jacques et B. Cenci, et de Lucrèce Petroni Cenci, leur belle-mère, exécutés pour crime de parricide, samedi dernier 11 septembre 1599, sous le règne de notre saint-père, le pape Clément VIII Aldobrandini*. (This MS. is translated by Stendhal in *Chroniques et Nouvelles*. 1855).—27. Landor, W. S., *Five Scenes*. (*Last Fruits of an Old Tree*. Lon-

don, 1853. P. 387.)—28. Langbaine, G., *An Account of the English Dramatick Poets*. (1691).—29. Malartie, A. de., *Relation de la Mort de Giacomo et B. Cinci et de Lucrèce Petroni Leur Belle-mère*. (Paris, 1828).—30. Massinger, P., *The Unnatural Combat*. (4to, 1639; 2 copies).—31. Massinger and Ford, ed. Coleridge, H. (1840).—32. Massinger's *Works*, ed. Cunningham, F. (1871).—33. Massinger's *Works*, ed. Gifford, W. (1813).—34. Massinger's *Works*, ed. Mason, W. (1779).—35. Massinger's *Works*, ed. Symons, A. (1887).—36. Muratori, L. A., *Annali d'Italia*. (1821).—37. Niccolini, G. B., *B. Cenci, Tragedia*. (Opere. Firenze, 1844).—38. *Nouveau Larousse Illustré Dictionnaire Universel Encyclopédique*, II, 604.—39. Perrens, F. T., *Le Procès des Cenci d'après des Documens Nouveaux. (Revue des Deux Mondes*. 1864).—40. Sarrazin, G., *Shelley: Les Cenci*, in *Poètes Modernes de l'Angleterre*. (Paris, 1885).—41. Shakespeare, ed. Malone (1821).—42. Shelley, P. B., *The Cenci* (1819).—43. Shelley, P. B., *Les Cenci, Drame*. Traduction de Tola Dorian (Paris, 1883).—44. Stendhal (M. H. Beyle), *Les Cenci* (1855).—45. Stephen, L., *Hours in a Library*. (3rd Series, 1879).—46. Swinburne, A. C., *Les Cenci*, in *Studies in Prose and Poetry* (1894).—47. Torrigiani, A., *Clemente VIII. e il Processo della B. Cenci* (1872).—48. *Vita di B. Cenci. Tratta dal Manoscritto Antico, con Annotazione sul Processo e Condanna*. (Roma, 1849).—49. Wood, A., *Athenae Oxonienses*. (Ed. 1813).—50. von Wurzbach, W., *Philip Massinger*, in *Shakespeare Jahrbuch*, XXXV, XXXVI. [To this list of references may be added the following:—51. Introduction to Shelley's *The Cenci*, ed. G. E. Woodberry (1910).—52. Crawford, F. Marion, *Beatrice Cenci, The True Story of a Misunderstood Tragedy*, in *The Century Magazine*, LXXV, 449–466.—53. Chapin, H. G., *The Crime and Trial of Beatrice Cenci*, in *The Green Bag*, XII, 631].

The classification and specific references are given with sufficient fullness in the text.

## FUNCTION AND CONTENT OF THE PROLOGUE, CHORUS, AND OTHER NON-ORGANIC ELEMENTS IN ENGLISH DRAMA

The primary sources upon which the study is based are:

1. The extant plays as listed in F. E. Schelling's *Elizabethan Drama*, vol. II, pp. 538–624, with the exception of (a) the Latin school drama, (b) the Masques, and (c) the plays still unedited in the British Museum, etc.—2. *York Plays*, edited by Lucy Toulmin Smith (Oxford, 1885).—3. *Towneley Plays*, edited by A. W. Pollard for the Early English Text Society (1897).—4. *Chester Plays*, edited by

Thomas Wright for the Shakespeare Society (1847).—5. *Ludus Coventriæ*, edited by J. O. Halliwell for the Shakespeare Society (1841).—6. *Les Origines latines du Théâtre moderne*, by E. DuMénil (1897).—7. *Die lateinischen Osterfeiern*, by K. Lange (1887).—8. *Les Prophètes du Christ*, Marius Sepet, in vols. 3–4, of the *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes* (1867).—9. Mummers and St. George Plays (*Notes and Queries*, 2nd Series, vols. X, XI, XII; 4th Series, vol. X; 5th Series, vol. II. *Publications of the London Folk Lore Society*, vol. 36, p. 130).—10. Dramas of Aeschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides.—11. Comedies of Plautus and Terence.—12. Spenser Society's *Tenne Tragedies of Seneca*.—13. First Folio of Shakespeare, Reprint by Methuen and Company (London, 1910).—14. 1647 Folio of Beaumont and Fletcher.—15. 1616 Folio edition of Jonson.—16. 1632 edition of *Six Comedies of Lyly*.—17. 1633 edition of *Tragedies and Comedies of Marston*.—18. Bang's *Materialien zur Kunde des älteren englischen Dramas*.

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Gayley, C. M., *Representative English Comedies*.—27. Gosson, Stephen, *School of Abuse*.—28. Gosson, Stephen, *Plays Confuted in Five Actions*.—29. Greg, W. W., *A List of English Plays Written before 1643*.—30. Greg, W. W., *A List of Masques, Pageants, etc.* (1902).—31. Grossman, H., *Ben Jonson als Kritiker* (Berlin, 1898).—32. Grysar, K. J., *Ueber das Canticum und den Chor in der römischen Tragödie*.—33. Haigh, A. E., *Tragic Drama of the Greeks*.—34. Halliwell, J. O., *Dictionary of Old Plays*.—35. Halliwell-Phillips, *Visits of Shakespeare's Company to the Provincial Cities*.—36. Hawkins, *Origin of the English Drama*.—37. Hazlitt, W. C., *English Drama and Stage under Tudor and Stuart Princes*.—38. Henslowe's *Diary*, edited by J. P. Collier.—39. Henslowe's *Diary*, edited by W. W. Greg.—40. Herford, C. H., *Literary Relations of England and Germany in the Sixteenth Century*.—41. Heywood, T., *Apology for Actors*.—42. Hohlfeld, A., *Die Kollektivmysterien*, in *Anglia*, XI.—43. Hone, William, *Ancient Mysteries Described*.—44. de Julleville, P., *Histoire du Théâtre au Moyen Age*.—45. Jusserand, J. J., *Le Théâtre en Angleterre*.—46. Liebig, A. L. R., *De Prologis Terentianis et Plautinis*.—47. Malone, Edward, *Rise and Progress of the English Stage* (1800).—48. Manly, J. M., *Influence of the Tragedies of Seneca upon Early English Drama*.—49. Mone, F. J., *Schauspiele des Mittelalters*.—50. Murray, J. T., *English Dramatic Companies, 1558-1642*.—51. Ordish, T. F., *Early London Theatres*.—52. Penniman, J. H., *The War of the Theatres* (in *Publications of the University of Pennsylvania*, 1897).—53. Ridgeway, Wm., *Origin of Tragedy*.—54. von Schack, A. F., *Die englischen Dramatiker vor, neben, und nach Shakespeare*.—55. Schelling, F. E., *Elizabethan Drama* (1908).—56. Schelling, F. E., *English Literature in the Lifetime of Shakespeare*.—57. Schelling, F. E., *The English Chronicle Play*.—58. Schelling, F. E., *Life and Writings of Gascoigne*.—59. Sharp, T., *Dissertation on the Coventry Mysteries*.—60. Sheavyn, Phoebe, *The Literary Profession in the Elizabethan Age* (1909).—61. Symmes, H. A., *Les Débuts de la Critique dramatique en Angleterre jusqu'à la Mort de Shakespeare* (Paris, 1903).—62. Symonds, J. A., *Shakespeare's Predecessors in the English Drama*.—63. Ten Brink, B., *Geschichte der englischen Literatur*.—64. Thompson, E. N. S., *Controversy between the Puritans and the Stage* (Yale, 1903).—65. Ward, A. W., *History of English Dramatic Literature to the Death of Queen Anne*.—66. Ward and Waller (editors in chief), *The Cambridge History of English Literature*, vols. V and VI, and other vols. by cross-reference. [To the above entries 2 and 3 should be added the following, accidentally omitted in its proper place: Koeppel, Emil, "Ben Jonson's Wirkung auf zeitgenössische Dramatiker und andere Studien," in *Anglistische Forschungen*, XX (1906)].

The following serial publications have been consulted *passim*:

1. *The Publications of the Modern Language Association*.—2. *Modern Philology*.—3. *Englische Studien*.—4. *Shakespeare Jahrbuch*.—5. *Herrig's Archiv*.—6. *The Modern Language Review*.—7. *The Percy Society Publications*.—8. *Jahresbericht der germanischen Philologie*.—9. *The Early English Text Society Publications*.—10. *The Shakespeare Society Publications*.—11. *The New Shakespeare Society Publications*.



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## ERRATUM.

Page 109, line 22: For *General Geath* read *General Heath*.





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